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CHRONICLES OF CANADA

Edited by George M. Wrong and H. H. Langton

In thirty-two volumes

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THE FATHER OF BRITISH CANADA

BY WILLIAM WOOD

Part IV

The Beginnings of British Canada

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THE FATHER OF BRITISH CANADA

A Chronicle of Carleton

BY

WILLIAM WOOD

TORONTO
GLASGOW, BROOK & COMPANY
1920

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TO

WILLIAM DOUW LIGHTHALL

AUTHOR, PATRIOT, FRIEND

113865

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CHAPTER I

GUY CARLETON

1724-1759

GUY CARLETON, first Baron Dorchester, was born at Strabane, County Tyrone, on the 3rd of September 1724, the anniversary of Cromwell's two great victories and death. He came of a very old family of English country gentlemen which had migrated to Ireland in the seventeenth century and intermarried with other Anglo-Irish families equally devoted to the service of the British Crown. Guy's father was Christopher Carleton of Newry in County Down. His mother was Catherine Ball of County Donegal. His father died comparatively young; and, when he was himself fifteen, his mother married the rector of Newry, the Reverend Thomas Skelton, whose influence over the six stepchildren of the household worked wholly for their good.

At eighteen Guy received his first com-

mission as ensign in the 25th Foot, then know as Lord Rothes' regiment and now as t King's Own Scottish Borderers. At twent three he fought gallantly at the siege Bergen-op-Zoom. Four years later (175 he was a lieutenant in the Grenadier Guard He was one of those quiet men whose sterli value is appreciated only by the few till son crisis makes it stand forth before the wor at large. Pitt, Wolfe, and George II all r cognized his solid virtues. At thirty he w still some way down the list of lieutenants the Grenadiers, while Wolfe, two years h junior in age, had been four years in comma of a battalion with the rank of lieutenan colonel. Yet he had long been 'my frie Carleton' to Wolfe, he was soon to becor one of 'Pitt's Young Men,' and he was enou of a 'coming man' to incur the king's d pleasure. He had criticized the Hanoverian and the king never forgave him. The thi George 'gloried in the name of Englishma But the first two were Hanoverian all throug And for an English guardsman to dispara the Hanoverian army was considered ne door to *lèse-majesté.*

Lady Dorchester burnt all her husband private papers after his death in 1808; so

have lost some of the most intimate records concerning him. But 'grave Carleton' appears so frequently in the letters of his friend Wolfe that we can see his character as a young man in almost any aspect short of self-revelation. The first reference has nothing to do with affairs of state. In 1747 Wolfe, aged twenty, writing to Miss Lacey, an English girl in Brussels, and signing himself 'most sincerely your friend and admirer,' says: 'I was doing the greatest injustice to the dear girls to admit the least doubt of their constancy. Perhaps with respect to ourselves there may be cause of complaint. Carleton, I'm afraid, is a recent example of it.' From this we may infer that Carleton was less 'grave' as a young man than Wolfe found him later on. Six years afterwards Wolfe strongly recommended him for a position which he had himself been asked to fill, that of military tutor to the young Duke of Richmond, who was to get a company in Wolfe's own regiment. Writing home from Paris in 1753 Wolfe tells his mother that the duke 'wants some skilful man to travel with him through the Low Countries and into Lorraine. I have proposed my friend Carleton, whom Lord Albemarle approves of.' Lord Albemarle was the British

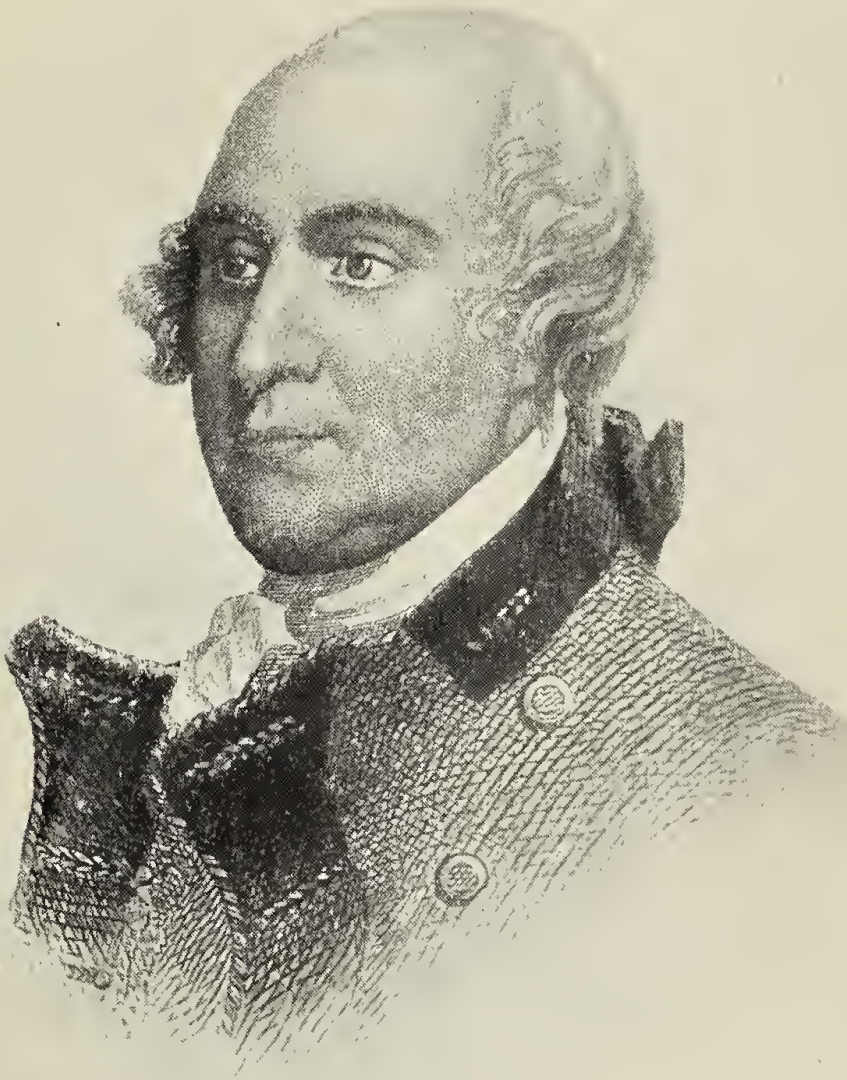
ambassador to France; so Carleton got t post and travelled under the happiest auspic while learning the frontier on which t Belgian, French, and British allies were fight the Germans in the Great World War 1914. It was during this military tour fortified places that Carleton acquired t engineering skill which a few years later prov of such service to the British cause in Canad

In 1754 George Washington, at that time young Virginian officer of only twenty-tw fired the first shot in what presently becam the world-wide Seven Years' War. The i mediate result was disastrous to the Briti arms; and Washington had to give up t command of the Ohio by surrendering F Necessity to the French on—of all dates—t 4th of July! In 1755 came Braddock's d feat. In 1756 Montcalm arrived in Cana and won his first victory at Oswego. In 17 Wolfe distinguished himself by formulati the plan which, if properly executed, wou have prevented the British fiasco at Rochef on the coast of France. But Carleton re mained as undistinguished as before. He simply became lieutenant-colonel comman ing the 72nd Foot, now the Seaforth Hig

anders. In 1758 his chance appeared to ave come at last. Amherst had asked for is services at Louisbourg. But the king had either forgotten nor forgiven the remarks bout the Hanoverians, and so refused point-lank, to Wolfe's 'very great grief and dis-ppointment. . . . It is a public loss Carleton's ot going.' Wolfe's confidence in Carleton, ither as a friend or as an officer, was stronger han ever. Writing to George Warde, after-vards the famous cavalry leader, he said: Accidents may happen in the family that may hrow my little affairs into disorder. Carleton so good as to say he will give what help is n his power. May I ask the same favour of ou, my oldest friend?' Writing to Lord eorge Sackville, of whom we shall hear more han enough at the crisis of Carleton's career, Volfe said: 'Amherst will tell you his opinion f Carleton, by which you will probably be etter convinced of our loss.' Again, 'We ant grave Carleton for every purpose of the ar.' And yet again, after the fall of Louis-ourg: 'If His Majesty had thought proper o let Carleton come with us as engineer it ould have cut the matter much shorter and e might now be ruining the walls of Quebec nd completing the conquest of New France.'

A little later on Wolfe blazes out with indignation over Carleton's supersession by a junior. 'Can Sir John Ligonier [the commander-in-chief] allow His Majesty to remain unacquainted with the merit of that officer, and can he see such a mark of displeasure without endeavouring to soften or clear the matter a little? A man of honour has the right to expect the protection of his Colonel and of the Commander of the troops, and he can't serve without it. If I was in Carleton's place I wouldn't stay an hour in the Army after being aimed at and distinguished in so remarkable manner.' But Carleton bided his time.

At the beginning of 1759 Wolfe was appointed to command the army destined to besiege Quebec. He immediately submitted Carleton's name for appointment as quartermaster-general. Pitt and Ligonier heartily approved. But the king again refused. Ligonier went back a second time to no purpose. Pitt then sent him in for the third time, saying, in a tone meant for the king to overhear: 'Tell His Majesty that in order to render the General [Wolfe] completely responsible for his conduct he should be made, as far as possible, inexcusable if he should fail; and that whatever an officer entrusted



SIR GUY CARLETON, LORD DORCHESTER

From an engraving by A. H. Ritchie

with such a service of confidence requests ought therefore to be granted.' The king then consented. Thus began Carleton's long, devoted, and successful service for Canada, the Empire, and the Crown.

Early in this memorable Empire Year of 1759 he sailed with Wolfe and Saunders from Spithead. On the 30th of April the fleet rendezvoused at Halifax, where Admiral Durell, second-in-command to Saunders, had spent the winter with a squadron intended to block the St Lawrence directly navigation opened in the spring. Durell was a good commonplace officer, but very slow. He had lost many hands from sickness during a particularly cold season, and he was not enterprising enough to start cruising round Cabot Strait before the month of May. Saunders, greatly annoyed by this delay, sent him off with eight men-of-war on the 5th of May. Wolfe gave him seven hundred soldiers under Carleton. These forces were sufficient to turn back, capture, or destroy the twenty-three French merchantmen which were then bound for Quebec with supplies and soldiers as reinforcements for Montcalm. But the French ships were a week ahead of Durell; and, when he landed Carleton at Isle-aux-Coudres on the

28th of May, the last of the enemy's transport had already discharged her cargo at Quebec sixty miles above.

Isle-aux-Coudres, so named by Jacques Cartier in 1535, was a point of great strategic importance; for it commanded the only channel then used. It was the place Wolfe had chosen for his winter quarters, that in case of failure before Quebec and supposing he was not recalled. None but a particularly good officer would have been appointed as its first commandant. Carleton spent many busy days here preparing an advanced base for the coming siege, while the subsequently famous Captain Cook was equally busy 'at sounding of the channell of the Traverse' which the fleet would have to pass on its way to Quebec. Some of Durell's ships destroyed the French 'long-shore batteries near the Traverse, at the lower end of the island of Orleans, while the rest kept ceaseless watch to seaward, anxiously scanning the offing day after day, to make out the colours of the first fleet up. No one knew what the French West India fleet would do; and there was a very disconcerting chance that it might run north and slip into the St Lawrence, ahead of Saunders, in the same way as the French

einforcements had just slipped in ahead of Durell. Presently, at the first streak of dawn n the 23rd of June, a strong squadron was een advancing rapidly under a press of sail. nstantly the officers of the watch called all ands up from below. The boatswains' whistles shrilled across the water as the sea- nen ran to quarters and cleared the decks for ction. Carleton's camp was equally astir. The guards turned out. The bugles sounded. The men fell in and waited. Then the flag- hip signalled ashore that the strangers had ust answered correctly in private code that all vas well and that Wolfe and Saunders were board.

Next to Wolfe himself Carleton was the usiest man in the army throughout the siege f Quebec. In addition to his arduous and ery responsible duties as quartermaster- eneral, he acted as inspector of engineers and s a special-service officer for work of an xceptionally confidential nature. As quarter- naster-general he superintended the supply nd transport branches. Considering that the rmy was operating in a devastated hostile ountry, a thousand miles away from its bases t Halifax and Louisbourg, and that the inter- ction of the different services—naval and

military, Imperial and Colonial—required
justment to a nicety at every turn, it
wonderful that so much was done so well w
means which were far from being adequa
War prices of course ruled in the Brit
camp. But they compared very favoura
with the famine prices in Quebec, where m
'luxuries' soon became unobtainable at a
price. There were no canteen or camp-follo
scandals under Carleton. Then, as n
every soldier had a regulation ration of f
and a regulation allowance for his service
But 'extras' were always acceptable.
price-list of these 'extras' reads strangely
modern ears. But, under the circumstan
it was not exorbitant, and it was sligh
tempered by being reckoned in Halifax c
rency of four dollars to the pound instead
five. The British Tommy Atkins of that a
many a later day thought Canada a wonde
country for making money go a long w
when he could buy a pot of beer for twope
and get back thirteen pence Halifax curre
as change for his English shilling. Beef a
ham ran from ninepence to a shilling a pou
Mutton was a little dearer. Salt butter w
eightpence to one-and-threepence. Cheese w
tenpence; potatoes from five to ten shilli

a bushel. 'A reasonable loaf of good soft Bread' cost sixpence. Soap was a shilling a pound. Tea was prohibitive for all but the officers. 'Plain Green Tea and very Badd' was fifteen shillings, 'Couchon' twenty shillings, 'Hyson' thirty. Leaf tobacco was tenpence a pound, roll one-and-tenpence, snuff two-and-threepence. Sugar was a shilling to eighteen pence. Lemons were sixpence apiece. The non-intoxicating 'Bad Sproos Beer' was only twopence a quart and helped to keep off scurvy. Real beer, like wine and spirits, was more expensive. 'Bristol Beer' was eighteen shillings a dozen, 'Bad malt Drink from Hellifax' ninepence a quart. Rum and claret were eight shillings a gallon each, port and Madeira ten and twelve respectively. The term 'Bad' did not then mean noxious, but only inferior. It stood against every low-grade article in the price-list. No goods were over-classified while Carleton was quartermaster-general.

The engineers were under-staffed, under-manned, and overworked. There were no Royal Engineers as a permanent and comprehensive corps till the time of Wellington. Wolfe complained bitterly and often of the lack of men and materials for scientific siege

work. But he 'relied on Carleton' to go purpose in this respect as well as in ma others. In his celebrated dispatch to Pitt mentions Carleton twice. It was Carlet whom he sent to seize the west end of t island of Orleans, so as to command the bas of Quebec, and Carleton whom he sent to ta prisoners and gather information at Poin aux-Trembles, twenty miles above the cit Whether or not he revealed the whole of h final plan to Carleton is probably more tha we shall ever know, since Carleton's pape were destroyed. But we do know that did not reveal it to any one else, not even his three brigadiers, Monckton, Townshen and Murray.

Carleton was wounded in the head duri the Battle of the Plains; but soon return to duty. Wolfe showed his confidence in hi to the last. Carleton's was the only nam mentioned twice in the will which Wol handed over to Jervis, the future Lord Vincent, the night before the battle. 'I lea to Colonel Oughton, Colonel Carleton, Colon Howe, and Colonel Warde a thousand poun each.' 'All my books and papers, both he and in England, I leave to Colonel Carleton Wolfe's mother, who died five years late

showed the same confidence by appointing Carleton her executor.

With the fall of Quebec in 1759 Carleton disappears from the Canadian scene till 1766. But so many pregnant events happened in Canada during these seven years, while so few happened in his own career, that it is much more important for us to follow her history than his biography.

In 1761 he was wounded at the storming of Port Andro during the attack on Belle Isle off the west coast of France. In 1762 he was wounded at Havana in the West Indies. After that he enjoyed four years of quietness at home. Then came the exceedingly difficult task of guiding Canada through twelve years of turbulent politics and most subversive war.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL MURRAY

1759-1766

BOTH armies spent a terrible winter after t Battle of the Plains. There was better shel for the French in Montreal than for the Briti among the ruins of Quebec. But in the matt of food the positions were reversed. Neve theless the French gallantly refused the tru offered them by Murray, who had now su ceeded Wolfe. They were determined make a supreme effort to regain Quebec the spring ; and they were equally determin that the habitants should not be free to supp the British with provisions.

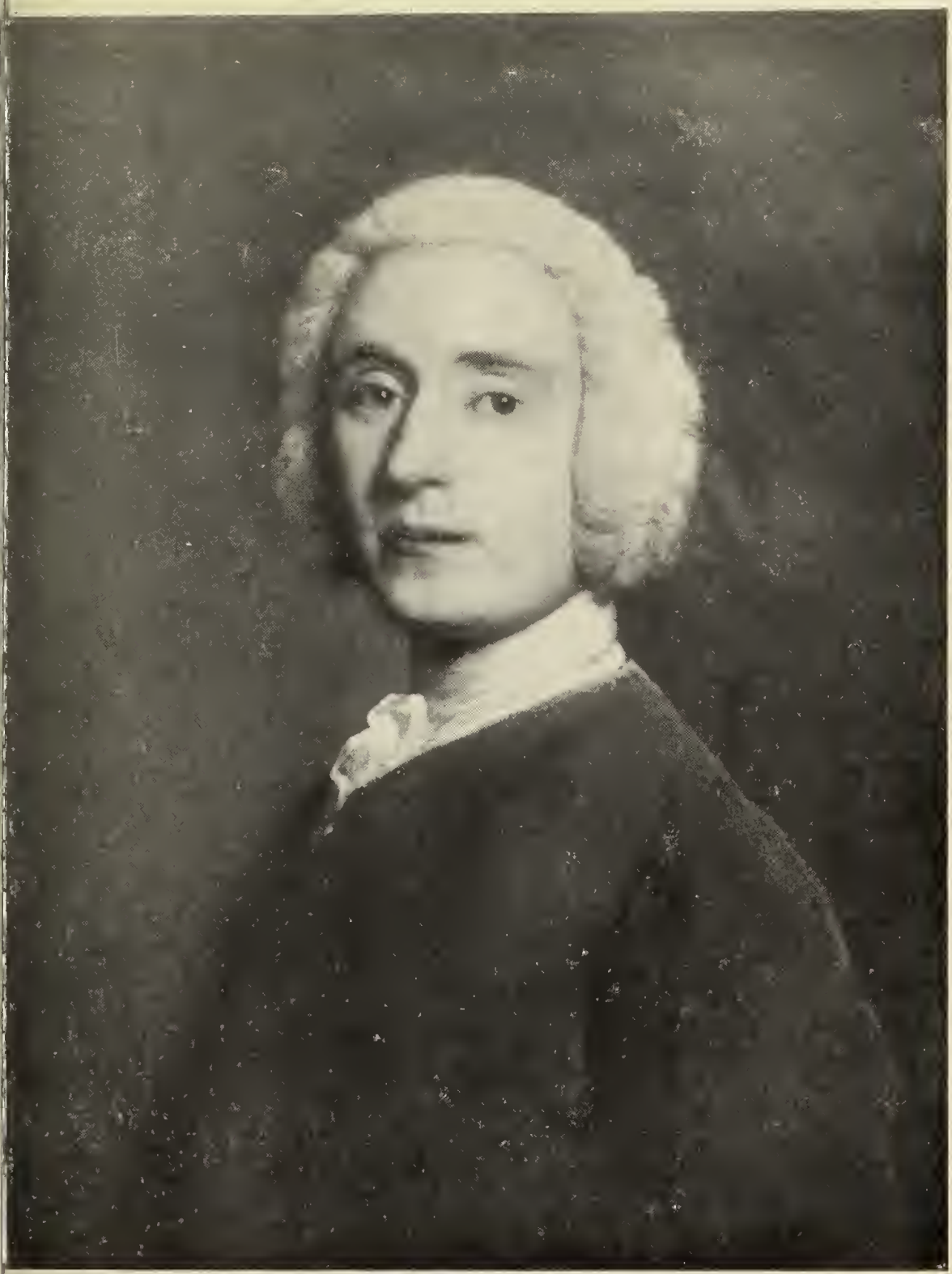
In spite of the state of war, however, t French and British officers, even as prisone and captors, began to make friends. Th had found each other foemen worthy of th steel. A distinguished French officer, t Comte de Malartic, writing to Lévis, Mor calm's successor, said: 'I cannot speak t

ighly of General Murray, although he is our
nemy.' Murray, on his part, was equally
ud and generous in his praise of the French.
he Canadian seigneurs found fellow-gentle-
en among the British officers. The priests
nd nuns of Quebec found many fellow-
atholics among the Scottish and Irish troops,
nd nothing but courteous treatment from the
oldiers of every rank and form of religion.
urray directed that 'the compliment of the
at' should be paid to all religious processions.
he Ursuline nuns knitted long stockings for
e bare-legged Highlanders when the winter
me on, and presented each Scottish officer
ith an embroidered St Andrew's Cross on
e 30th of November, St Andrew's Day.
he whole garrison won the regard of the town
y giving up part of their rations for the
ngry poor; while the habitants from the
rrounding country presently began to find
t that the British were honest to deal with
nd most humane, though sternly just, as
nquerors.

In the following April Lévis made his
esperate throw for victory; and actually
d succeed in defeating Murray outside the
alls of Quebec. But the British fleet came
p in May; and that summer three British

armies converged on Montreal, where the doomed remnants of French power on the Lawrence stood despairingly at bay. W Lévis found his two thousand effective Fre regulars surrounded by eight times as m British troops he had no choice but to down the arms of France for ever. On 8th of September 1760 his gallant little ar was included in the Capitulation of Montr by which the whole of Canada passed into possession of the British Crown.

Great Britain had a different general i for each one of the four decades which mediately followed the conquest of Cana In the sixties the general idea was to kill fractory old French ways with a double d of new British liberty and kindness, so t Canada might gradually become the lo fourteenth colony of the Empire in Ameri But the fates were against this benevol scheme. The French Canadians were firm wedded to their old ways of life, except in far as the new liberty enabled them to thr off irksome duties and restraints, while new English-speaking 'colonists' were few, and mostly so bad, that they became cause of endless discord where harmony v



JAMES MURRAY

From an engraving in the Dominion Archives

sential. In the seventies the idea was to store the old French-Canadian life so as not nly to make Canada proof against the disfection of the Thirteen Colonies but also to ake her a safe base of operations against bellious Americans. In the eighties the eat concern of the government was to make harmonious whole out of two very widely ffering parts—the long-settled French Canaans and the newly arrived United Empire oyalists. In the nineties each of these parts as set to work out its own salvation under s own provincial constitution.

Carleton's is the only personality which nks together all four decades—the would- American sixties, the French-Canadian venties, the Anglo-French-Canadian eighties, nd the bi-constitutional nineties—though, as entioned already, Murray ruled Canada for e first seven years, 1759-66.

James Murray, the first British governor of anada, was a younger son of the fourth Lord libank. He was just over forty, warmarted and warm-tempered, an excellent rench scholar, and every inch a soldier. e had been a witness for the defence of ordaunt at the court-martial held to try

the authors of the Rochefort fiasco in 17
Wolfe, who was a witness on the other si
referred to him later on as ' my old antagon
Murray.' But Wolfe knew a good man wh
he saw one and gave his full confidence to
' old antagonist ' both at Louisbourg a
Quebec. Murray was not born under a luc
star. He saw three defeats in three success
wars. He began his service with the ab
tive attack on pestilential Cartagena, wh
Wolfe's father was present as adjuta
general. In mid-career he lost the battle
Ste Foy.[1] And his active military life enc
with his surrender of Minorca in 1782. H
he was greatly distinguished for honour a
steadfastness on all occasions. An admir
contemporary described him as a model of
the military virtues except prudence. But
had more prudence and less genius than
admirer thought; and he showed a mark
talent for general government. The probl
before him was harder than his superiors co
believe. He was expected to prepare
assimilation some sixty-five thousand ' n

[1] See *The Winning of Canada,* chap. viii. See also, for the
account of this battle and other events of the year betw
Wolfe's victory and the surrender of Montreal, *The Fal
Canada*, by George M. Wrong. Oxford, 1914.

bjects' who were mostly alien in religion
id wholly alien in every other way. But,
r the moment, this proved the least of his
any difficulties because no immediate re-
lts were required.

While the war went on in Europe Canada
mained nominally a part of the enemy's
minions, and so, of course, was subject
military rule. Sir Jeffery Amherst, the
ritish commander-in-chief in America, took
his headquarters in New York. Under
m Murray commanded Canada from Quebec.
nder Murray, Colonel Burton commanded
e district of Three Rivers while General
age commanded the district of Montreal,
hich then extended to the western wilds.[1]

Murray's first great trouble arose in 1761.
was caused by an outrageous War Office
der that fourpence a day should be stopped
m the soldiers to pay for the rations they
d always got free. Such gross injustice,
ming in time of war and applied to soldiers
ho richly deserved reward, made the veterans
nad with rage.' Quebec promised to be the
ene of a wild mutiny. Murray, like all his
ficers, thought the stoppage nothing short
robbery. But he threw himself into the

[1] See *The War Chief of the Ottawas*, chap. iii.

breach. He assembled the officers and
plained that they must die to the last
rather than allow the mutineers a free ha
He then held a general parade at which
ordered the troops to march between two f
poles on pain of instant death, promising
kill with his own hands the first man
refused. He added that he was ready to h
and forward any well-founded complaint,
that, since insubordination had been ope
threatened, he would insist on subordina
being publicly shown. Then, amid te
silence, he gave the word of command—*Qu*
March !—while every officer felt his trig
To the immense relief of all concerned
men stepped off, marched straight betw
the flags and back to quarters, tamed.
criminal War Office blunder was rectified
peace was restored in the ranks.

'Murray's Report' of 1762 gives us a g
view of the Canada of that day and sh
the attitude of the British towards their
possession. Canada had been conquered
Great Britain, with some help from
American colonies, for three main reaso
first, to strike a death-blow at French domi
in America; secondly, to increase the op
tunities of British seaborne trade; and, thir

enlarge the area available for British settlement. When Murray was instructed to prepare a report on Canada he had to keep all his in mind; for the government wished to satisfy the public both at home and in the colonies. He had to examine the military strength of the country and the disposition of its population in case of future wars with France. He had to satisfy the natural curiosity of men like the London merchants. And he had to show how and where English-speaking settlers could go in and make Canada not only a British possession but the fourteenth British colony in North America. Burton and Gage were also instructed to report about their own districts of Three Rivers and Montreal. The documents they prepared were tacked on to Murray's. By June 1762 the work was completed and sent on to Amherst, who sent it to England in ample time to be studied there before the opening of the impending negotiations for peace.

Murray was greatly concerned about the military strength of Quebec, then, as always, the key of Canada. Like the unfortunate Montcalm he found the walls of Quebec badly built, badly placed, and falling into ruins,

and he thought they could not be defended three thousand men against ' a well conduc *Coup-de-main.*' He proposed to crown C Diamond with a proper citadel, which wo overawe the disaffected in Quebec itself a defend the place against an outside ene long enough to let a British fleet come up its relief. The rest of the country was fended by little garrisons at Three Rivers a Montreal as well as by several small deta ments distributed among the trading-po where the white men and the red met in depths of the western wilderness.

The relations between the British garri and the French Canadians were so excell that what Gage reported from Montreal mi be taken as equally true of the rest of country : ' The Soldiers live peaceably w the Inhabitants and they reciprocally acqu an affection for each other.' The Fre Canadians numbered sixty-five thousand together, exclusive of the fur traders a coureurs de bois. Barely fifteen thousa lived in the three little towns of Queb Montreal, and Three Rivers ; while over fi thousand lived in the country. Nearly the officials had gone back to France. T three classes of greatest importance were

igneurs, the clergy, and the habitants. The wyers were not of much account; the petty mmercial classes of less account still. The ureurs de bois and other fur traders formed important link between the savage and the vilized life of the country.

Apart from furs the trade of Canada was ntemptibly small in the eyes of men like e London merchants. But the opportunity fostering all the fur trade that could be rried down the St Lawrence was very well orth while; and if there was no other existg trade worth capturing there seemed to be me kinds worth creating. Murray held out ell-grounded hopes of the fisheries and forests. A Most immense Cod Fishery can be estabshed in the River and Gulph of St Lawrence. rich tract of country on the South Side of ie Gulph will be settled and improved, and port or ports furnished with every material quisite to repair ships.' He then went on enumerate the other kinds of fishery, the undance of whales, seals, and walruses in the ulf, and of salmon up all the tributary rivers. urton recommends immediate attention to he iron mines behind Three Rivers. All the overnors expatiate on the vast amount of rest wealth and remind the home govern-

ment that under the French régime the k
when making out patents for the seigne
reserved the right of taking wood for s
building and fortifications from any of
seigneuries. Agriculture was found to be
very backward state. The habitants wo
raise no more than they required for their
use and for a little local trade. But the f
was attributed to the gambling attraction
the fur trade, to the bad governmental syst
and to the frequent interruptions of
corvée, a kind of forced labour which
meant to serve the public interest, but wh
Bigot and other thievish officials always tur
to their own private advantage. On
whole, the reports were most encouraging
the prospects they held out to honest labo
trade, and government.

While Murray and his lieutenants had b
collecting information for their reports
home government had been undergoing m
changes for the worse. The master-sta
man Pitt had gone out of power and the ba
stairs politician Bute had come in. Pi
'bloody and expensive war'—the war th
more than any other, laid the foundations
the present British Empire—was to be en

n any terms the country could be persuaded
o bear. Thus the end of the Seven Years'
Var, or, as the British part of it was more
orrectly called, the 'Maritime War,' was no
ore glorious in statesmanship than its be-
nning had been in arms. But the spirit of
s mighty heart still lived on in the Empire's
rateful memories of Pitt and quickened the
nglish-speaking world enough to prevent any
eally disgraceful surrender of the hard-won
uits of victory.

The Treaty of Paris, signed on the 10th of
ebruary 1763, and the king's proclamation,
ublished in October, were duly followed by
ne inauguration of civil government in
anada. The incompetent Bute, anxious to
et Pitt out of the way, tried to induce him
o become the first British governor of the
ew colony. Even Bute probably never dared
o hope that Pitt would actually go out to
anada. But he did hope to lower his
restige by making him the holder of a sine-
ure at home. However this may be, Pitt,
ightiest of all parliamentary ministers of
ar, refused to be made either a jobber or
n exile; whereupon Murray's position was
hanged from a military command into that
f 'Governor and Captain-General.'

The changes which ensued in the laws Canada were heartily welcomed so far as adoption of the humaner criminal code England was concerned. The new laws lating to debtor and creditor also gave gene satisfaction, except, as we shall presently s when they involved imprisonment for de But the tentative efforts to introduce Engl civil law side by side with the old Fren code resulted in great confusion and mu discontent. The land laws had beco so unworkable under this dual system th they had to be left as they were. A Court Common Pleas was set up specially for t benefit of the French Canadians. If eith party demanded a jury one had to be swo in; and French Canadians were to be jur on equal terms with 'the King's Old Subjec The Roman Catholic Church was to be co pletely tolerated but not in any way esta lished. Lord Egremont, in giving the kin instructions to Murray, reminded him th the proviso in the Treaty of Paris—*as far the Laws of Great Britain permit*—shou govern his action whenever disputes aro It must be remembered that the last Jacob rising was then a comparatively recent affa and that France was equally ready to up

her the Protestant succession in England the British régime in Canada.

The Indians were also an object of special licitude in the royal proclamation. 'The dians who live under our Protection should t be molested in the possession of such parts our Dominions and Territories as, not hav- g been ceded to or purchased by Us, are served to them.' The home government as far in advance of the American colonists its humane attitude towards the Indians. he common American attitude then and long terwards—indeed, up to a time well within ring memory—was that Indians were a kind human vermin to be exterminated without ercy, unless, of course, more money was to made out of them alive. The result was endless struggle along the ever-receding ontier of the West. And just at this par- ular time the 'Conspiracy of Pontiac' had ought about something like a real war. The ory of this great effort of the Indians to em the encroachments of the exterminating lonists is told in another chronicle of the esent Series.[1] The French traders in the est undoubtedly had a hand in stirring the Indians. Pontiac, a sort of Indian

[1] *The War Chief of the Ottawas.*

Napoleon, was undoubtedly cruel as wel crafty. And the Indians undoubtedly fou just as the ancestors of the French and Br used to fight when they were at the co sponding stage of social evolution. But mere fact that so many jealously dist tribes united in this common cause pr how much they all must have suffered at hands of the colonists.

While Pontiac's war continued in the W Murray had to deal with a political wa Canada which rose to its height in 1764. king's proclamation of the previous Oct had 'given express Power to our Gove that, so soon as the state and circumstance the said Colony will admit thereof, he s call a General Assembly in such manner form as is used in those Colonies and Provi in America which are under our immed government.' The intention of establis parliamentary institutions was, therefore, fectly clear. But it was equally clear the introduction of such institutions wa depend on 'circumstances,' and it is wel remember here that these 'circumstan were not held to warrant the opening Canadian parliament till 1792. Now,

litary government had been a great success. ere was every reason to suppose that civil vernment by a governor and council would the next best thing. And it was quite tain that calling a 'General Assembly' at ce would defeat the very ends which such dies are designed to serve. More than nety-nine per cent of the population were ad against an assembly which none of them derstood and all distrusted. On the other nd, the clamorous minority of less than e per cent were in favour only of a parlia- ent from which the majority should be orously excluded, even, if possible, as voters. e immense majority comprised the entire ench-Canadian community. The absurdly all minority consisted mostly of American- d camp-following traders, who, having me to fish in troubled waters, naturally nted the laws made to suit poachers. e British garrison, the governing officials, d the very few other English-speaking ople of a more enlightened class all looked wn on the rancorous minority. The whole estion resolved itself into this: should nada be handed over to the licensed ex- oitation of a few hundred low-class camp- llowers, who had done nothing to win her

for the British Empire, who were despised those who had, and who promised to b dangerous thorn in the side of the new colo

What this ridiculous minority of grab- really wanted was not a parliament bu rump. Many a representative assembly ended in a rump. The grab-alls wished begin with one and stop there. It mi be supposed that such pretensions wo defeat themselves. But there was a two difficulty in the way of getting the tr understood by the English-speaking pu on both sides of the Atlantic. In the f place, the French Canadians were practica dumb to the outside world. In the seco the vociferous rumpites had the ear of so English and more American commer people who were not anxious to understa while the great mass of the general pul were inclined to think, if they ever thou at all, that parliamentary government m mean more liberty for every one concerned.

A singularly apt commentary on the p tensions of the camp-followers is supplied the famous, or infamous, 'Presentment the Grand Jury of Quebec' in October 17 The moving spirits of this precious jury w aspirants to membership in the strictly

usive, rumpish little parliament of their vn seeking. The signatures of the French-nadian members were obtained by fraud, as as subsequently proved by a sworn official otestation. The first presentment tells its vn tale, as it refers to the only courts in nich French-Canadian lawyers were allowed plead. 'The great number of inferior urts are tiresome, litigious, and expensive this poor Colony.' Then came a hit at the evious military rule—'That Decrees of the litary Courts may be amended [after having en confirmed by legal ordinance] by allow-g Appeals if the matter decided exceed Ten unds,' which would put it out of the reach the 'inferior Courts' and into the clutches 'the King's Old Subjects.' But the gist of all was contained in the following: 'We present that as the Grand Jury must be nsidered at present as the only Body re-esentative of the Colony, . . . We propose at the Publick Accounts be laid before the rand Jury at least twice a year.' That the and jury was to be purged of all its French-nadian members is evident from the ad-ndum slipped in behind their backs. This dendum is a fine specimen of verbose in-ctive against 'the Church of Rome,' the

Pope, Bulls, Briefs, absolutions, etc., empanelling 'en Grand and petty Jurys' 'papist or popish Recusants Convict,' a so on.

The 'Presentment of the Grand Jury' w presently followed by *The Humble Petition Your Majesty's most faithful and loyal Subje British Merchants and Traders, in behalf Themselves and their fellow Subjects, habitants of Your Majesty's Province of Quel* 'Their fellow Subjects' did not, of cour include any 'papist or popish Recusa Convict.' Among the 'Grievances and D tresses' enumerated were 'the oppressive a severely felt Military government,' the i bility to 'reap the fruit of our Industry' un such a martinet as Murray, who, in one pa graph, is accused of 'suppressing dutyf Remonstrances in Silence' and, in the next, 'treating them with a Rage and Rudeness Language and Demeanor as dishonourable the Trust he holds of Your Majesty as painf to Those who suffer from it.' Finally, t petitioners solemnly warn His Majesty th their 'Lives in the Province are so very u happy that we must be under the Necess of removing from it, unless timely prevent by a Removal of the present Governor.'

Bartholomew. Edin.

In forwarding this document Murray poured
it the vials of his wrath on 'the Licentious
naticks Trading here,' while he boldly
ampioned the cause of the French Cana-
ans, 'a Race, who, could they be indulged
th a few priveledges which the Laws of
ngland deny to Roman Catholicks at home,
ould soon get the better of every National
ntipathy to their Conquerors and become the
ost faithful and most useful set of Men in
is American Empire.'

While these charges and counter-charges
re crossing the Atlantic another, and much
ore violent, trouble came to a head. As
ere were no barracks in Canada billeting
s a necessity. It was made as little burden-
me as possible and the houses of magistrates
re specially exempt. This, however, did
t prevent the magistrates from baiting
e military whenever they got the chance.
nes, imprisonments, and other sentences,
t of all proportion to the offence committed,
re heaped on every redcoat in much the
ne way as was then being practised in
ston and other hotbeds of disaffection.
e redcoats had done their work in ridding
nerica of the old French menace. They
re doing it now in ridding the colonies of

the last serious menace from the India
And so the colonists, having no further
for them, began trying to make the land t
had delivered too hot to hold them. Th
were, of course, exceptions ; and the Ameri
colonists had some real as well as preten
grievances. But wantonly baiting the r
coats had already become a most discredita
general practice.

Montreal was most in touch with the
affected people to the south. It also ha
magistrate of the name of Walker, the m
rancorous of all the disaffected magistrate
Canada. This Walker, well mated with
equally rancorous wife, was the same man
entertained Benjamin Franklin and the ot
commissioners sent by Congress into Can
in 1776, the year in which both the Ameri
Republic and a truly British Canada w
born. He would not have been flatte
could he have seen the entry Franklin m
about him and his wife in a diary which is
extant. The gist of it was that wherever
Walkers might be they would soon set
place by the ears. Walker, of course,
foremost in the persecution of the redcoa
and he eagerly seized his opportunity when
officer was billeted in a house where a brot

agistrate happened to be living as a lodger. nder such circumstances the magistrate uld not claim exemption. But this made difference either to him or to Walker. ptain Payne, the gentleman whose presence raged these boors, was seized and thrown o gaol. The chief justice granted a writ habeas corpus. But the mischief was done d resentment waxed high. The French-nadian seigneurs sympathized with Payne, ich added fuel to the magisterial flame; d Murray, scenting danger, summoned the ole bench down to Quebec.

But before this bench of bumbles started ne masked men seized Walker in his own use and gave him a good sound thrashing. fortunately they spoilt the fair reprisal cutting off his ear. That very night the ws had run round Montreal and made a rt for Boston and Quebec. Feeling ran h; and higher still when, a few weeks er, the civil magistrates vented their rage several redcoats by imposing sentences eeding even the utmost limits of their vious vindictive action. Montreal became nic-stricken lest the soldiers, baited past lurance, should break out in open violence. rray drove up, post-haste, from Quebec,

ordered the affected regiment to anot station, reproved the offending magistra and re-established public confidence. Offi and private rewards were offered to any nesses who would identify Walker's assaila But in vain. The smouldering fire burst again under Carleton. But the mystery never cleared up.

Things had now come to a crisis. London merchants, knowing nothing ab the internal affairs of Canada, backed petition of the Quebec traders, who w quite unworthy of such support from me real business probity and knowledge. magisterial faction in Canada advertised t side of the case all over the colonies an any sympathetic quarter they could find England. The seigneurs sent home a wa defence of Murray; and Murray himself s Cramahé, a very able Swiss officer in British Army. The home government t had plenty of contradictory evidence be it in 1765. The result was that Murray called home in 1766, rather in a spirit of op minded and sympathetic inquiry into conduct than with any idea of censuring h He never returned to Canada. But as held the titular governorship for some t

nger, and as he was afterwards employed positions of great responsibility and trust, e verdict of the home authorities was clearly ven in his favour.

The troublous year of 1764 saw another in-vation almost as revolutionary, compared th the old régime, as the introduction of vil government itself. This was the issue the first newspaper in Canada, where, in-ed, it was also the first printed thing of any nd. Nova Scotia had produced an earlier per, the *Halifax Gazette*, which lived an termittent life from 1752 to 1800. But no ess had ever been allowed in New France. ne few documents that required printing had ways been done in the mother country. rown and Gilmore, two Philadelphians, were us undertaking a pioneer business when they nounced that ' Our Design is, in case we are rtunate enough to succeed, early in this ring to settle in this City [Quebec] in the pacity of Printers, and forthwith to publish weekly newspaper in French and English.' he *Quebec Gazette*, which first appeared on he 21st of the following June, has continued the present time, though it is now a daily nd is known as the *Quebec Chronicle*. Cen-

tenarian papers are not common in country; and those that have lived ove century and a half are very few indeed. the *Quebec Chronicle*, which is the second viving senior in America, is also among great press seniors of the world.

The original number is one of the curiosi of journalism. The publishers felt tolera sure of having what was then considere good deal of recent news for their t hundred readers during the open sea But, knowing that the supply would be b short and stale in winter, they held prospects of a Canadian *Tatler* or *Specta* without, however, being rash enough promise a supply of Addisons and Ste Their announcement makes curious readin the present day.

The Rigour of Winter preventing the arriva ships from *Europe*, and in a great measure interr ing the ordinary intercourse with the Sout Provinces, it will be necessary, in a paper desi for General Perusal, and Publick Utility, to pro some things of general Entertainment, indepen of foreign intelligence: we shall therefore, on occasions, present our Readers with such *Origi* both in *Prose* and *Verse*, as will please the FANCY instruct the JUDGMENT. And here we beg leav observe that we shall have nothing so much at h

the support of VIRTUE and MORALITY and the noble use of LIBERTY. The refined amusements of TERATURE, and the pleasing veins of well pointed t, shall also be considered as necessary to this llection; interspersed with chosen pieces, and rious essays, extracted from the most celebrated thors; So that, blending PHILOSOPHY with POLI-CKS, HISTORY, &c., the youth of both sexes will improved and persons of all ranks agreeably and efully entertained. And upon the whole we will pour to attain to all the exactness that so much riety will permit, and give as much variety as will nsist with a reasonable exactness. And as this rt of our project cannot be carried into execution thout the correspondence of the INGENIOUS, we all take all opportunities of acknowledging our ligations, to those who take the trouble of furnish-g any matter which shall tend to entertainment or struction. Our Intentions to please the *Whole*, thout offence to any *Individual*, will be better inced by our practice, than by writing volumes on e subject. This one thing we beg may be believed, at PARTY PREJUDICE, or PRIVATE SCANDAL, will ever find a place in this PAPER.

CHAPTER III

GOVERNOR CARLETON

1766-1774

THE twelve years of Carleton's first
ministration naturally fall into three disti
periods of equal length. During the first
was busily employed settling as many d
culties as he could, examining the general st
of the country, and gradually growing i
the change that was developing in the mi
of the home government, the change, that
from the Americanizing sixties to the Fren
Canadian seventies. During the second per
he was in England, helping to shape
famous Quebec Act. During the third he v
defending Canada from American attack a
aiding the British counterstroke by eve
means in his power.

On the 22nd of September 1766 Carlet
arrived at Quebec and began his thirty yea
experience as a Canadian administrator
taking over the government from Colo

ving, who had held it since Murray's de-
rture in the spring. Irving had succeeded
urray simply because he happened to be
e senior officer present at the time. Carleton
nself was technically Murray's lieutenant
1768. But neither of these facts really
ected the course of Canadian history.

The Council, the magistrates, and the traders
ch presented the new governor with an
dress containing the usual professions of
yal devotion. Carleton remarked in his dis-
tch that these separate addresses, and the
arked absence of any united address, showed
w much the population was divided. He
so noted that a good many of the English-
eaking minority had objected to the ad-
esses on account of their own opposition
the Stamp Act, and that there had been
me broken heads in consequence. Troubles
ough soon engaged his anxious attention—
oubles over the Indian trade, the rights and
rongs of the Canadian Jesuits, the wounded
gnity of some members of the Council, and
e still smouldering and ever mysterious
alker affair.

The strife between Canada and the Thirteen
olonies over the Indian trade of the West
mained the same in principle as under

the old régime. The Conquest had me changed the old rivalry between two for powers into one between two widely diffe British possessions; and this, because of general unrest among the Americans, n the competition more bitter, if possible, t ever.

The Jesuits pressed their claims for cognition, for their original estates, and compensation. But their order had fa on evil days all over the world. It was popular even in Canada. And the arra ment was that while the existing mem were to be treated with every considera the Society itself was to be allowed to out.

The offended councillors went so far a present Carleton with a remonstrance w Irving himself had the misfortune to s Carleton had consulted some members points with which they were specially quainted. The members who had not b consulted thereupon protested to Irving, assured them that Carleton must have d so by accident, not design. But w Carleton received a joint letter in which t said, 'As you are pleased to signifye to by Coll. Irving that it was accident, &

tention,' he at once replied: 'As Lieu-
nant Colonel Irving has signified to you that
e Part of my Conduct you think worthy
your Reprehension happened by Accident
him explain his reasons for so doing. He
d no authority from me.' Carleton then
nt on to say that he would consult any
Men of Good Sense, Truth, Candour, and
partial Justice' whenever he chose, no
atter whether they were councillors or not.
The Walker affair, which now broke out
ain, was much more serious than the storm
the Council's teacup. It agitated the whole
Canada and threatened to range the popula-
on of Montreal and Quebec into two irre-
ncilable factions, the civil and the military.
or the whole of the two years since Murray
d been called upon to deal with it cleverly
esented versions of Walker's views had been
read all over the colonies and worked into
fluential Opposition circles in England. The
vectives against the redcoats and their
iends the seigneurs were of the usual abusive
pe. But they had an unusually powerful
fect at that particular time in the Thirteen
olonies as well as in what their authors hoped
make a Fourteenth Colony after a fashion
their own; and they looked plausible

enough to mislead a good many moderate
in the mother country too. Walker's
was that he had an actual witness, as to
identity of his assailants, in the perso
M'Govoch, a discharged soldier, who laid
formation against one civilian, three Bri
officers, and the celebrated French-Canad
leader, La Corne de St Luc. All the accu
were arrested in their beds in Montreal
thrown into the common gaol. Walker
jected to bail on the plea that his life wo
be in danger if they were allowed at la
He also sought to postpone the trial in or
to punish the accused as much as possi
guilty or innocent. But William Hey,
chief justice, an able and upright man, wo
consent to postponement only on condit
that bail should be allowed; so the t
proceeded. When the grand jury threw
the case against one of the prisoners Wal
let loose such a flood of virulent abuse t
moderate men were turned against him.
the end all the accused were honoura
acquitted, while M'Govoch, who was pro
to have been a false witness from the fi
was convicted of perjury. Carleton remai
absolutely impartial all through, and ev
dismissed Colonel Irving and another mem

the Council for heading a petition on behalf the military prisoners.

The Walker affair was an instance of a bad se in which the law at last worked well. t there were many others in which it did t. What with the *Coutume de Paris*, which still quoted in the province of Quebec; the ner complexities of the old French law; the ubtful meanings drawn from the capitula-n, the treaty, the proclamation, and the rious ordinances; the instinctive opposition tween the French Canadians and the English-eaking civilians; and, finally, what with e portents of subversive change that were eady beginning to overshadow all America, what with all this and more, Carleton found nself faced with a problem which no man uld have solved to the satisfaction of every e concerned. Each side in a lawsuit took natever amalgam of French and English des was best for its own argument. But, nerally speaking, the ingrained feeling of e French Canadians was against any change their own laws that was not visibly and mediately beneficial to their own particular terests. Moreover, the use of the unknown nglish language, the worthlessness of the pacious English-speaking magistrates, and

the detested innovation of imprisonment
debt, all combined to make every part
English civil law hated simply becaus
happened to be English and not French.
home authorities were anxious to find s
workable compromise. In 1767 Carleton
changed several important dispatches w
them; and in 1768 they sent out Mau
Morgan to study and report, after consultat
with the chief justice and 'other well
structed persons.' Morgan was an indefa
able and clear-sighted man who deserves
be gratefully remembered by both races;
he was a good friend both to the Fre
Canadians before the Quebec Act and to
United Empire Loyalists just before th
great migration, when he was Carleto
secretary at New York. In 1769 the offi
correspondence entered the 'secret and c
fidential' stage with a dispatch from the ho
government to Carleton suggesting a House
Representatives to which, practically speaki
the towns would send Protestant memb
and the country districts Roman Catholics.

In 1770 Carleton sailed for England.
carried a good deal of hard-won experie
with him, both on this point and on ma
others. He went home with a strong opin

only against an assembly but against any
nediate attempts at Anglicization in any
n. The royal instructions that had accom-
nied his commission as 'Captain-General
Governor-in-chief' in 1768 contained
ections for establishing the Church of
gland with a view to converting the whole
pulation to its tenets later on. But no
ps had been taken, and, needless to say,
French Canadians remained as Roman
holic as ever.

An increasingly important question, soon
overshadow all others, was defence. In
ril 1768 Carleton had proposed the restora-
n of the seigneurial militia system. 'All the
nds here are held of His Majesty's Castle
St Lewis [the governor's official residence
Quebec]. The Oath which the Vassals
gneurs] take is very Solemn and Binding.
ey are obliged to appear in Arms for the
ng's defence, in case his Province is at-
ked.' Carleton pointed out that a hundred
n of the Canadian seigneurial families were
ng kept on full pay in France, ready to
urn and raise the Canadians at the first
portunity. 'On the other hand, there are
y about seventy of these officers in Canada
o have been in the French service. Not

one of them has been given a commissio
the King's [George's] Service, nor is t
One who, from any motive whatever, is
duced to support His Government.' The
French Canadians raised for Pontiac's
had of course been properly paid during
continuance of their active service. But
had been disbanded like mere militia a
wards, without either gratuities or half-
for the officers. This naturally made the
from which officers were drawn think
no career was open to them under the U
Jack and turned their thoughts tow
France, where their fellows were enjoying
pay without a break.

What made this the more serious was
weakness of the regular garrisons, all of wh
put together, numbered only 1627 n
Carleton calculated that about five hundre
'the King's Old Subjects' were capable
bearing arms; though most of them w
better at talking than fighting. He
nothing but contempt for 'the flimsy
round Montreal,' and relied little more
the very defective works at Quebec. Th
with all his wonderful equanimity, 'gr
Carleton' left Canada with no light he
when he took six months' leave of absence

70; and he would have been more anxious
ll if he could have foreseen that his absence
s to be prolonged to no less than four years.
He had, however, two great satisfactions.
e was represented at Quebec by a most
adfast lieutenant, the quiet, alert, discreet,
d determined Cramahé; and he was leav-
g Canada after having given proof of a dis-
erestedness which was worthy of the elder
tt himself. When Pitt became Paymaster-
neral of England he at once declined to
e the two chief perquisites of his office, the
erest on the government balance and the
lf per cent commission on foreign sub-
ies, though both were regarded as a kind
indirect salary. When Carleton became
vernor of Canada he at once issued a pro-
mation abolishing all the fees and per-
isites attached to his position and ex-
ined his action to the home authorities in
e following words: 'There is a certain
pearance of dirt, a sort of meanness, in
acting fees on every occasion. I think
necessary for the King's service that his
resentative should be thought unsullied.'
rray, who had accepted the fees, at first
k umbrage. But Carleton soon put
tters straight with him. The fact was

that fees, and even certain perquisites, w no dishonour to receive, as they nearly alw formed a recognized part, and often the wh of a perfectly legal salary. But fees perquisites could be abused; and they lead to misunderstandings, even when t were not abused; while fixed salaries w free from both objections. So Carleton, rounded by shamelessly rapacious magistr and the whole vile camp-following gang well as by French Canadians who had suff from the robberies of Bigot and his like, cided to sacrifice everything but his indisp able fixed salary in order that even the m malicious critics could not bring any acc tion, however false, against the man represented Britain and her king.

An interesting personal interlude, wh was not without considerable effect on Ca dian history, took place in the middle Carleton's four years' stay in England. was forty-eight and still a bachelor. Tr tion whispers that these long years of si life were the result of a disappointing affair with Jane Carleton, a pretty cou when both he and she were young. Howe that may be, he now proposed to Lady A

ward, whose father, the Earl of Effingham, one of his greatest friends. But he was med to a second, though doubtless very or, disappointment. Lady Anne, who bably looked on 'grave Carleton' as a sort amiable, middle-aged uncle, had fallen in e with his nephew, whom she presently ried, and with whom she afterwards went to Canada, where her husband served er the rejected uncle himself. What ed spice to this peculiar situation was fact that Carleton actually married the nger sister of the too-youthful Lady Anne. en Lady Anne rejoined her sister and their om friend, Miss Seymour, after the discon- ing interview with Carleton, she explained tears by saying they were due to her hav- been 'obliged to refuse the best man on h.' 'The more fool you!' answered the nger sister, Lady Maria, then just eigh- n, 'I only wish he had given me the nce!' There, for the time, the matter ed. Carleton went back to his official ies in furtherance of the Quebec Act. nephew and the elder sister made mutual e. Lady Maria held her tongue. But s Seymour had not forgotten; and one she mustered up courage to tell Carleton

the story of 'the more fool you!' This cided him to act at once. He proposed; accepted; and lived happily married for rest of his long life. Lady Maria was sm fair-haired, and blue-eyed, which heighte her girlish appearance when, like Madam Champlain, she came out to Canada wi husband more than old enough to be father. But she had been brought up Versailles. She knew all the aristocr graces of the old régime. And her slight, right figure—erect as any soldier's to dying day—almost matched her husba stalwart form in dignity of carriage.

The Quebec Act of 1774—the Magna Ch of the French-Canadian race—finally pa the House of Lords on the 18th of June. general idea of the Act was to reverse unsuccessful policy of ultimate assimila with the other American colonies by mak Canada a distinctly French-Canadian vince. The Maritime Provinces, with a po lation of some thirty thousand, were to b English as they chose. But a greatly larged Quebec, with a population of nin thousand, and stretching far into the settled West, was to remain equally Fren

nadian; though the rights of what it was
n thought would be a perpetual English-
aking minority were to be safeguarded in
ry reasonable way. The whole country
ween the American colonies and the
mains of the Hudson's Bay Company was
luded in this new Quebec, which comprised
southern half of what is now the New-
ndland Labrador, practically the whole
the modern provinces of Quebec and
tario, and all the western lands between
Ohio and the Great Lakes as far as the
ssissippi, that is, the modern American
tes of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan,
d Wisconsin.

The Act gave Canada the English criminal
le. It recognized most of the French civil
, including the seigneurial tenure of land.
man Catholics were given 'the free Exer-
e' of their religion, 'subject to the King's
premacy' as defined 'by an Act made in
First Year of Queen Elizabeth,' which Act,
h a magnificently prophetic outlook on
future British Empire, was to apply to
l the Dominions and Countries which then
l, or thereafter should, belong to the Im-
ial Crown.' The Roman Catholic clergy
re authorized to collect 'their accustomed

Dues and Rights ' from members of their
communion. The new oath of allegianc
the Crown was silent about difference
religion, so that Roman Catholics might
it without question. The clergy and seign
were thus restored to an acknowle
leadership in church and state. Those
wanted a parliament were distinctly told
' It is at present inexpedient to call
Assembly,' and that a Council of from se
teen to twenty-three members, all appoi
by the Crown, would attend to local gov
ment and have power to levy taxes for r
and public buildings only. Lands held
free and common soccage ' were to be d
with by the laws of England, as was
property which could be freely willed a
A possible establishment of the Churc
England was provided for but never pu
operation.

In some ways the Act did, in other w
it did not, fulfil the objects of its framers.
was undoubtedly a generous concession to
leading French Canadians. It did help
keep Canada both British and Canadian.
it did open the way for what ought to h
been a crushing attack on the American
volutionary forces. But it was not,

ither it nor any other Act could possibly ve been, at that late hour, completely suc- ssful. It conciliated the seigneurs and the rochial clergy. But it did not, and it could t, also conciliate the lesser townsfolk and e habitants. For the last fourteen years e habitants had been gradually drifting ay from their former habits of obedience d former obligations towards their leaders church and state. The leaders had lost eir old followers. The followers had found new leaders of their own.

Naturally enough, there was great satisfac- on among the seigneurs and the clergy, with general feeling among government sup- rters, both in England and Canada, that e best solution of a very refractory problem d been found at last. On the other hand, e Opposition in England, nearly every one the American colonies, and the great ajority of English-speaking people in New- undland, the Maritime Provinces, and anada itself were dead against the Act; hile the habitants, resenting the privileges ready reaffirmed in favour of the seigneurs nd clergy, and suspicious of further changes the same unwelcome direction, were neutral the best and hostile at the worst.

The American colonists would have b angered in any case. But when they Canada proper made as unlike a 'fourtee colony' as could be, and when they also the gates of the coveted western lands cl against them by the same detested Act— last of the 'five intolerable acts' to wh they most objected—their fury knew bounds. They cursed the king, the pope, the French Canadians with as much viole as any temporal or spiritual rulers had e cursed heretics and rebels. The 'infam and tyrannical ministry' in England accused of 'contemptible subservience' the 'bloodthirsty, idolatrous, and hypocrit creed' of the French Canadians. To th that people whose religion had spread 'murd persecution, and revolt throughout the wor were to be entrenched along the St Lawre was bad enough. But to see Crown protect given to the Indian lands which the Americ considered their own western 'birthright' w infinitely worse. Was the king of Engla to steal the valley of the Mississippi in same way as the king of France?

It is easy to be wise after the event a hard to follow any counsel of perfection. B it must always be a subject of keen, if unava

, regret that the French Canadians were not aranteed their own way of life, within the its of the modern province of Quebec, mediately after the capitulation of Montreal 1760. They would then have entered the itish Empire, as a whole people, on terms ich they must all have understood to be ceedingly generous from any conquering wer, and which they would have soon found t to be far better than anything they had perienced under the government of France. return for such unexampled generosity ey might have become convinced defenders the only flag in the world under which they uld possibly live as French Canadians. eir relations to each other, to the rest of a anging Canada, and to the Empire would ve followed the natural course of political olution, with the burning questions of nguage, laws, and religion safely removed m general controversy in after years. The hts of the English-speaking minority could, course, have been still better safeguarded der this system than under the distracting ies of half-measures which took its place. ere should have been no question of a rliament in the immediate future. Then, th the peopling of Ontario by the United

Empire Loyalists and the growth of the M
time Provinces on the other side, Qu
could have entered Carleton's proposed
federation in the nineties to her own and e
one else's best advantage.

On the other hand, the delay of four
years after the Capitulation of 1760 and
unwarrantable extension of the provi
boundaries were cardinal errors of the
disastrous kind. The delay, filled wit
futile attempt at mistaken Americanizat
bred doubts and dissensions not only betw
the two races but between the different k
of French Canadians. When the hour of
came disintegration had already gone too
The mistake about the boundaries was equ
bad. The western wilds ought to have b
administered by a lieutenant-governor u
the supervision of a governor-general. E
leasing them for a short term of years to
Hudson's Bay Company would have b
better than annexing them to a preposte
province of Quebec. The American colon
would have doubtless objected to ei
alternative. But both could have been
fended on sound principles of administrati
while the sudden invasion of a new and
flated Quebec into the colonial hinterlands

tle less than a declaration of war. The hole problem bristled with enormous difficulties, and the circumstances under which it d to be faced made an ideal solution impssible. But an earlier Quebec Act, without outrageous boundary clause, would have en well worth the risk of passing; for the lay led many French Canadians to suppose, wever falsely, that the Empire's need might vays be their opportunity; and this idea, wever repugnant to their best minds and tter feelings, has persisted among their treme particularists until the present day.

CHAPTER IV

INVASION

1775

CARLETON'S first eight years as governor Canada were almost entirely occupied w civil administration. The next four w equally occupied with war; so much so, deed, that the Quebec Act could not be in force on the 1st of May 1775, as p vided for in the Act itself, but only bit by much later on. There was one short sessi of the new Legislative Council, which oper on the 17th of August. But all men's mi were even then turned towards the Mo real frontier, whence the American invasi threatened to overspread the whole count and make this opening session the last th might ever be held. Most of the memb were soon called away from the counc chamber to the field. No further sessi could be held either that year or the nex and Carleton was obliged to nominate t

dges himself. The fifteen years of peace re over, and Canada had once more be- me an object of contention between two rcely hostile forces.

The War of the American Revolution was a ng and exceedingly complicated struggle; d its many varied fortunes naturally had profound effect on those of Canada. But nada was directly engaged in no more than e first three campaigns, when the Americans vaded her in 1775 and '76, and when the itish used her as the base from which to vade the new American Republic in 1777. ese first three campaigns formed a purely vil war within the British Empire. On each le stood three parties. Opponents were nged against each other in the mother untry, in the Thirteen Colonies, and in nada. In the mother country the king and s party government were ranged against the pposition and all who held radical or revolu- onary views. Here the strife was merely olitical. But in the Thirteen Colonies the rces of the Crown were ranged against the rces of the new Continental Congress. The nall minority of colonists who were after- ards known as the United Empire Loyalists

sided with the Crown. A majority sided w
the Congress. The rest kept as selfishly neu
as they could. Among the English-speak
civilians in Canada, many of whom were
of a much better class than the original ca
followers, the active loyalists comprised o
the smaller half. The larger half sided w
the Americans, as was only natural, see
that most of them were immigrants fr
the Thirteen Colonies. But by no me
all these sympathizers were ready for a fig
Among the French Canadians the loyal
included very few besides the seigneurs,
clergy, and a handful of educated people
Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec.
mass of the habitants were more or
neutral. But many of them were anti-Brit
at first, while most of them were anti-Americ
afterwards.

Events moved quickly in 1775. On
19th of April the 'shot heard round the worl
was fired at Lexington in Massachuset
On the 1st of May, the day appointed for t
inauguration of the Quebec Act, the stat
of the king in Montreal was grossly defac
and hung with a cross, a necklace of potato
and a placard bearing the inscription, *Here*

Canadian Pope and English Fool—Voilà Pape du Canada et le sot Anglais. Large ards were offered for the detection of the orits; but without avail. Excitement ran n and many an argument ended with a ody nose.

Meanwhile three Americans were plotting attack along the old line of Lake Champn. Two of them were outlaws from the ony of New York, which was then dising with the neighbouring colony of New mpshire the possession of the lawless on in which all three had taken refuge which afterwards became Vermont. an Allen, the gigantic leader of the wild en Mountain Boys, had a price on his d. Seth Warner, his assistant, was an law of a somewhat humbler kind. Benedict old, the third invader, came from Conticut. He was a horse-dealer carrying on iness with Quebec and Montreal as well the West Indies. He was just thirty-; an excellent rider, a dead shot, a very sailor, and captain of a crack militia mpany. Immediately after the affair at ington he had turned out his company, nforced by undergraduates from Yale, had ed the New Haven powder magazine and

marched over to Cambridge, where the M
chusetts Committeemen took such a fan
him that they made him a colonel on the
with full authority to raise men for an
mediate attack on Ticonderoga. The op
tunity seemed too good to be lost; th
the Continental Congress was not the
favour of attacking Canada, as its men
hoped to see the Canadians throw off the
of empire on their own account. The Br
posts on Lake Champlain were absu
undermanned. Ticonderoga contained
hundred cannon, but only forty men, no
whom expected an attack. Crown Point
only a sergeant and a dozen men to w
its hundred and thirteen pieces. Fort Geo
at the head of Lake George, was no better
and nothing more had been done to man
fortifications at St Johns on the Riche
where there was an excellent sloop as we
many cannon in charge of the usual sergea
guard. This want of preparation was
fault of Carleton's. He had frequently
ported home on the need of more men. I
he had less than a thousand regulars to de
the whole country: and not another man
to arrive till the spring of next year. W
Gage was hard pressed for reinforcement

RIVER ST CHARLES
OR THE LITTLE RIVER
QUEBEC CITY
Scale of Feet
0 500 1000
River St Charles
General Hospital
Jetty of Masonry
UPPER TOWN
LOWER TOWN
HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM
Road from St Foy
Road from Sillery and Trois Rivieres
CAP AU DIAMANT
RIVER ST LAURENCE
A. Sault-au-Matelot barricade, where Arnold's force was defeated, 31st December 1775.
B. Près-de-Ville barricade, where Montgomerg's force was defeated, 31st December 1775.
C. Suburb of the Palais, occupied by the Americans.
D. Suburb of St Roch, occupied by the Americans
E. American lines and batteries during the siege.
1. Palace Gate.
2. St John's Gate.
3. St Louis's Gate.
4. Potasse Bastion.
5. St John's Bastion.
6. St Ursula Bastion.
7. St Louis's Bastion.
8. La Glacière Bastion.
9. Cape Diamond Bastion.
10. Fort St Louis.
11. The Parish Church.
12. The Seminary.
13. Church of the Lower Town.
14. Hotel Dieu.
15. Bishop's Palace.
16. The Jesuits.
17. The Ursulines.
18. The Recollets.
19. Royal Battery.

Bartholomew. Edinr.

ston in the autumn of 1774 Carleton had mediately sent him two excellent battalions at could ill be spared from Canada. But en Carleton himself made a similar request, the autumn of 1775, Admiral Graves, to his ting dishonour, refused to sail up to Quebec late as October.

The first moves of the three Americans acked strongly of a well-staged extravaza in which the smart Yankees never led to score off the dunderheaded British. e Green Mountain Boys assembled on the t side of the lake. Spies walked in and out Ticonderoga, exactly opposite, and reported Ethan Allen that the commandant and his ole garrison of forty unsuspecting men uld make an easy prey. Allen then sent hty men down to Skenesborough (now hitehall) at the southern end of the lake, take the tiny post there and bring back ats for the crossing on the 10th of May. en Arnold turned up with his colonel's nmission, but without the four hundred n it authorized him to raise. Allen, howr, had made himself a colonel too, with rner as his second-in-command. So there re no less than three colonels for two hund and thirty men. Arnold claimed the

command by virtue of his Massachusetts co
mission. But the Green Mountain Boys
clared they would follow no colonels but th
own; and so Arnold, after being threaten
with arrest, was appointed something l
chief of the staff, on the understanding th
he would make himself generally useful w
the boats. This appointment was made
dawn on the 10th of May, just as the fi
eighty men were advancing to the atta
after crossing over under cover of night. T
British sentry's musket missed fire; whe
upon he and the guard were rushed, while t
rest of the garrison were surprised in th
beds. Ethan Allen, who knew the fort th
oughly, hammered on the commandant's do
and summoned him to surrender 'In the na
of the Great Jehovah and the Continen
Congress!' The astonished commanda
seeing that resistance was impossible, put
his dressing-gown and paraded his disarm
garrison as prisoners of war. Seth Warr
presently arrived with the rest of Allen's m
and soon became the hero of Crown Poi
which he took with the whole of its thirte
men and a hundred and thirteen canno
Then Arnold had his own turn, in comma
of an expedition against the sergeant's gua

nnon, stores, fort, and sloop at St Johns the Richelieu, all of which he captured in same absurdly simple way. When he ne sailing back the three victorious com-nders paraded all their men and fired off ny straggling fusillades of joy. In the antime the Continental Congress at Phila-phia, with a delightful touch of unconscious nour, was gravely debating the following olution, which was passed on the 1st of ne: *That no Expedition or Incursion ought be undertaken or made, by any Colony or y of Colonists, against or into Canada.*

The same Congress, however, found reasons ugh for changing its mind before the month May was out. The British forces in Canada already begun to move towards the threat-d frontier. They had occupied and strength-d St Johns. And the Americans were be-ning to fear lest the command of Lake mplain might again fall into British hands. the 27th of May the Congress closed the se of individual raids and inaugurated the se of regular invasion by commissioning neral Schuyler to 'pursue any measures Canada that may have a tendency to mote the peace and security of these onies.' Philip Schuyler was a distin-

guished member of the family whose head
formulated the 'Glorious Enterprize' of
quering New France in 1689.[1] So it
quite in line with the family tradition for
to be under orders to 'take possession o
Johns, Montreal, and any other parts of
country,' provided always, adds the cauti
Congress, that 'General Schuyler finds
practicable, and that it will not be disag
able to the Canadians.'

A few days later Arnold was trying to g
colonelcy from the Convention of New Y
whose members just then happened to
thinking of giving commissions to his riv
the leaders of the Green Mountain Boys, wh
to make the complication quite compl
these Boys themselves had every intentio
electing officers on their own account. In
meantime Connecticut, determined not to
forestalled by either friend or foe, ordere
thousand men to Ticonderoga and comm
sioned a general called Wooster to comma
them. Thus early were sown the seeds
those dissensions between Congress troops
Colony troops which nearly drove Washing
mad.

Schuyler reached Ticonderoga in mid-J

[1] See, in this Series, *The Fighting Governor.*

d assumed his position as Congressional mmander-in-chief. Unfortunately for the od of the service he had only a few hundred en with him; so Wooster, who had a ousand, thought himself the bigger general the two. The Connecticut men followed ooster's lead by jeering at Schuyler's men m New York; while the Vermonters added the confusion by electing Seth Warner stead of Ethan Allen. In mid-August a cond Congressional general arrived, making ree generals and half a dozen colonels for s than fifteen hundred troops. This third neral was Richard Montgomery, an ardent el of thirty-eight, who had been a captain the British Army. He had sold his com-ssion, bought an estate on the Hudson, d married a daughter of the Livingstons. e Livingstons headed the Anglo-American volutionists in the colony of New York as e Schuylers headed the Knickerbocker itch. One of them was very active on the el side in Montreal and was soon to take e field at the head of the American 'patriots' Canada. Montgomery was brother to the ptain Montgomery of the 43rd who was the ly British officer to disgrace himself during olfe's Quebec campaign, which he did by

murdering his French-Canadian prisoners
Château Richer because they had fou
disguised as Indians.[1] Richard Montgom
was a much better man than his sav
brother; though, as the sequel proves,
was by no means the perfect hero his Am
can admirers would have the world belie
His great value at Ticonderoga was his p
fessional knowledge and his ardour in the ca
he had espoused. His presence 'changed
spirit of the camp.' It sadly needed chan
'Such a set of pusillanimous wretches ne
were collected' is his own description in
despairing letter to his wife. The 'army,'
fact, was all parts and no whole, and all
parts were mere untrained militia. Mo
over, the spirit of the 'town meeting' ru
the camp. Even a battery could not
moved without consulting a council of w
Schuyler, though far more phlegmatic th
Montgomery, agreed with him heartily abo
this and many other exasperating points.
Job had been a general in my situation,
memory had not been so famous for patienc

Worn out by his worries, Schuyler fell
and was sent to command the base at Alban
Montgomery then succeeded to the comma

[1] See *The Passing of New France*, p. 118.

the force destined for the front. The plan invasion approved by Washington was, st, to sweep the line of the Richelieu by king St Johns and Chambly, then to take ontreal, next to secure the line of the St wrence, and finally to besiege Quebec. ontgomery's forces were to carry out all the eliminary parts alone. But Arnold was to n him at Quebec after advancing across untry from the Kennebec to the Chaudière th a flying column of Virginians and New nglanders.

Carleton opened the melancholy little ssion of the new Legislative Council at uebec on the very day Montgomery arrived Ticonderoga—the 17th of August. When closed it, to take up the defence of Canada, e prospect was already black enough, though grew blacker still as time went on. Immediately on hearing the news of Ticonderoga, own Point, and St Johns at the end of May had sent every available man from Quebec Montreal, whence Colonel Templer had ready sent off a hundred and forty men to Johns, while calling for volunteers to llow. The seigneurial class came forward once. But all attempts to turn out the

militia *en masse* proved utterly futile. Fo
teen years of kindly British rule had loose
the old French bonds of government and
habitants were no longer united as part
one people with the seigneurs and the cler
The rebels had been busy spreading insidi
perversions of the belated Quebec Act, pois
ing the minds of the habitants against t
British government, and filling their imagi
tions with all sorts of terrifying doubts. T
habitants were ignorant, credulous, and su
picious to the last degree. The most absu
stories obtained ready credence and ran li
wildfire through the province. Seven tho
sand Russians were said to be coming up t
St Lawrence — whether as friends or fo
mattered nothing compared with the awf
fact that they were all outlandish bogey
Carleton was said to have a plan for burni
alive every habitant he could lay his han
on. Montgomery's thousand were said to
five thousand, with many more to follo
And later on, when Arnold's men came up t
Kennebec, it was satisfactorily explained
most of the habitants that it was no goo
resisting dead-shot riflemen who were bulle
proof themselves. Carleton issued proclam
tions. The seigneurs waved their sword

clergy thundered from their pulpits. But
n vain. Two months after the American
pits on Lake Champlain Carleton gave a
ea to the sentry mounted in his honour
ne local militia colonel, M. de Tonnancour,
use this man was the first genuine habi-
he had yet seen armed in the whole
ict of Three Rivers. What must Carleton
felt when the home government author-
him to raise six thousand of His Majesty's
French-Canadian subjects for immediate
ce and informed him that the arms and
pment for the first three thousand were
dy on the way to Canada! Seven years
er it might still have been possible to
French-Canadian counterparts of those
land regiments which Wolfe had recom-
ded and Pitt had so cordially approved.
eton himself had recommended this ex-
nt scheme at the proper time. But, though
home government even then agreed with
they thought such a measure would raise
e parliamentary and public clamour than
could safely face. The chance once lost
lost for ever.

arleton had done what he could to keep
enemy at arm's length from Montreal by
ing every available man into Chambly

and St Johns. He knew nothing of Ar
force till it actually reached Quebe
November. Quebec was thought secur
the time being, and so was left with a ha
of men under Cramahé. Montreal had
regulars and a hundred 'Royal Emigr
mostly old Highlanders who had settled
the New York frontier after the Con
For the rest, it had many American and
British sympathizers ready to fly at
others' throats and a good many neu
ready to curry favour with the win
Sorel was a mere post without any effe
garrison. Chambly was held by only ei
men under Major Stopford. But its st
stone fort was well armed and quite
against anything except siege artillery ;
its little garrison consisted of good reg
who were well provisioned for a siege.
mass of Carleton's little force was at St J
under Major Preston, who had 500 me
the 7th and 26th (Royal Fusiliers and Ca
onians), 80 gunners, and 120 volunt
mostly French-Canadian gentlemen. Pre
was an excellent officer, and his seven
dred men were able to give a very
account of themselves as soldiers. But
fort was not nearly so strong as the on

mbly; it had no natural advantages of tion; and it was short of both stores and risions.

he three successive steps for Montgomery ke were St Johns, Chambly, and Montreal. the natural order of events was completely t by that headstrong Yankee, Ethan n, who would have his private war at treal, and by that contemptible British er, Major Stopford, who would not defend mbly. Montgomery laid siege to St Johns he 18th of September, but made no sub-tial progress for more than a month. He ably had no use for Allen at anything like gular siege. So Allen and a Major Brown t on to 'preach politicks' and concert a g with men like Livingston and Walker. ngston, as we have seen already, belonged a leading New York family which was active in the rebel cause; and Livingston, ker, Allen, and Brown would have made angerous anti-British combination if they ld only have worked together. But they ld not. Livingston hurried off to join ntgomery with four hundred 'patriots' served their cause fairly well till the in-ion was over. Walker had no military lities whatever. So Allen and Brown were

left to their own disunited devices. Mon seemed an easy prey. It had plenty of sympathizers. Nearly all the surrou habitants were either neutrals or incline side with the Americans, though not as f ing men. Carleton's order to bring in al ladders, so as to prevent an escalade o walls, had met with general opposition evasion. Nothing seemed wanting but a working plan.

Brown, or possibly Allen himself, the upon the idea of treating Montreal very n as Allen had treated Ticonderoga. In case Allen jumped at it. He jumped so indeed, that he forestalled Brown, who fa to appear at the critical moment. Thus the 24th of September, Allen found hi alone at Long Point with a hundred twenty men in face of three times as m under the redoubtable Major Carden, a sk veteran who had won Wolfe's admira years before. Carden's force included th regulars, two hundred and forty militian and some Indians, probably not ove hundred strong. The militia were mostly the seigneurial class with a following habitants and townsmen of both French British blood. Carden broke Allen's fla

ded up his centre, and won the little
n easily, though at the expense of his
most useful life. Allen was very in-
ant at being handcuffed and marched off
a common prisoner after having made
elf a colonel twice over. But Carleton
no respect for self-commissioned officers
had no soldiers to spare for guarding
erous rebels. So he shipped Allen off to
and, where that eccentric warrior was
ned in Pendennis Castle near Falmouth
ornwall.

his affair, small as it was, revived British
s in Montreal and induced a few more
iamen and Indians to come forward.
within a month more was lost at Chambly
had been gained at Montreal. On the
of October a small American detachment
cked Chambly with two little field-guns
induced it to surrender on the 20th. If
an officer deserved to be shot it was
or Stopford, who tamely surrendered his
-armed and well-provided fort to an in-
ificant force, after a flimsy resistance of
thirty-six hours, without even taking the
ble to throw his stores into the river that
ed beside his strong stone walls. The
s of this disgraceful surrender, diligently

spread by rebel sympathizers, frightened Indians away from St Johns, thus depri Major Preston, the commandant, of his couriers at the very worst time. But the did not stop there; for nearly all the French-Canadian militiamen whom the r distant seigneurs had been able to get u arms deserted *en masse*, with many thr against any one who should try to turn t out again.

Chambly is only a short day's march f Montreal to the west and St Johns to south; so its capture meant that St Jo was entirely cut off from the Richelieu to north and dangerously exposed to being off from Montreal as well. Its ample st and munitions of war were a priceless boo Montgomery, who now redoubled his eff to take St Johns. But Preston held bravely for the remainder of the month, w Carleton did his best to help him. A f night earlier Carleton had arrested that f brand, Walker, who had previously refu to leave the country, though Carleton given him the chance of doing so. Walker, as much a rebel as her husba interviewed Carleton and noted in her di that he 'said many severe Things in v

& Polite Termes.' Carleton was firm. er's actions, words, and correspondence roved him a dangerous rebel whom no nor could possibly leave at large without king his oath of office. Walker, who had elf caused so many outrageous arrests, not only resisted the legal arrest of his person, but fired on the little party of ers who had been sent to bring him into real. The soldiers then began to burn out; whereupon he carried his wife to ndow from which the soldiers rescued He then surrendered and was brought Montreal, where the sight of him as a ner made a considerable impression on vaverers.

few hundred neighbouring militiamen scraped together. Every one of the ful of regulars who could be spared was d out. And Carleton set off to the relief t Johns. But Seth Warner's Green ntain Boys, reinforced by many more shooters, prevented Carleton from land- at Longueuil, opposite Montreal. The ining Indians began to slink away. The ch-Canadian militiamen deserted fast— ty or forty of a night.' There were not hundred regulars available for a march

across country. And on the 30th Ca
was forced to give up in despair. Withi
week St Johns surrendered with 688 men
were taken south as prisoners of war. Pr
had been completely cut off and threat
with starvation as well. So when he
stroyed everything likely to be needed b
enemy he had done all that could be exp
of a brave and capable commander.

It was the 3rd of November when St J
surrendered. Ten days later Montgo
occupied Montreal and Arnold lande
Wolfe's Cove just above Quebec. The
for the possession of Quebec had been a
close one. The race for the captur
Carleton was to be closer still. And o
fate of either depended the immediate,
perhaps the ultimate, fate of Canada.

The race for Quebec had been none the
desperate because the British had not kn
of the danger from the south till after Ar
had suddenly emerged from the wilds of M
and was well on his way to the mouth o
Chaudière, which falls into the St Lawr
seven miles above the city. Arnold's
sequent change of sides earned him the exe
tion of the Americans. But there can b
doubt whatever that if he had got throug

e to capture Quebec he would have become ational hero of the United States. He had advantage of leading picked men ; though rly three hundred faint-hearts did turn k half-way. But, even with picked men, feat was one of surpassing excellence. force went in eleven hundred strong. It e out, reduced by desertion as well as by ost incredible hardships, with barely seven dred. It began its toilsome ascent of the nebec towards the end of September, ying six weeks' supplies in the bad, hastily t boats or on the men's backs. Daniel gan and his Virginian riflemen led the . Aaron Burr was present as a young nteer. The portages were many and try- The settlements were few at first and wanting altogether. Early in October drenched portagers were already sleeping heir frozen clothes. The boats began to k up. Quantities of provisions were lost. there was scarcely anything left but flour salt pork. It took nearly a fortnight to past the Great Carrying Place, in sight Iount Bigelow. Rock, bog, and freezing e told on the men, some of whom began all sick. Then came the chain of ponds ing into Dead River. Then the last climb

up to the height-of-land beyond which lay headwaters of the Chaudière, which takes rise in Lake Megantic.

There were sixty miles to go beyond lake, and a badly broken sixty miles t were, before the first settlement of Fre Canadians could be reached. There was trail. Provisions were almost at an e Sickness increased. The sick began to 'And what was it all for? A chance to killed! The end of the march was Que —impregnable!' On the 24th of Octo Arnold, with fifteen other men, began 'a r against time, a race against starvation' pushing on ahead in a desperate effort to f food. Within a week he had reached the f settlement, after losing three of his five bo with everything in them. Three days la and not one day too soon, the French Ca dians met his seven hundred famishing m with a drove of cattle and plenty of provisio The rest of the way was toilsome enou But it seemed easy by comparison. T habitants were friendly, but very shy ab enlisting, in spite of Washington's invitat to 'range yourselves under the standard general liberty.' The Indians were more sponsive, and nearly fifty joined on their o

ıs. By the 8th of November Arnold was
ching down the south shore of the St
rence, from the Chaudière to Point Levis,
ıll view of Quebec. He had just received
ispatch ten days old from Montgomery
which he learned that St Johns was ex-
ed to fall immediately and that Schuyler
no longer with the army at the front.
he could not tell when the junction of
es would be made; and he saw at once
Quebec was on the alert because every
had been either destroyed or taken over
ıe other side.
ıe spring and summer had been anxious
s enough in Quebec. But the autumn
a great deal worse. Bad news kept com-
lown from Montreal. The disaffected got
e and more restless and began 'to act as
gh no opposition might be shown the
l forces.' And in October it did seem as
thing could be done to stop the invaders.
e were only a few hundred militiamen that
l be depended on. The regulars, under
nel Maclean, had gone up to help Carleton
he Montreal frontier. The fortifications
in no state to stand a siege. But
ıahé was full of steadfast energy. He had
ered the French-Canadian militia on

September 11, the very day Arnold was l
ing Cambridge in Massachusetts for his da
march against Quebec. These men had
swered the call far better in the city of Qu
than anywhere else. There was also a la
proportion of English-speaking loyalists
than in Montreal. But no transports bro
troops up the St Lawrence from Bosto
the mother country, and no vessel bro
Carleton down. The loyalists were, howe
encouraged by the presence of two s
men-of-war, one of which, the *Hunter*,
been the guide-ship for Wolfe's boat the n
before the Battle of the Plains. Some m
reinforcements also kept arriving: vete
from the border settlements and a hun
and fifty men from Newfoundland. On
3rd of November, the day St Johns
rendered to Montgomery, an intercepted
patch had warned Cramahé of Arnold's
proach and led him to seize all the boat
the south shore opposite Quebec. This
by no means his first precaution. He
sent some men forty miles up the Chaudiè
soon as the news of the raids on Lake Ch
plain and St Johns had arrived at the en
May. Thus, though neither of them
anticipated such a bolt from the blue,

eton and Cramahé had taken all the onable means within their most restricted er to provide against unforeseen con- encies.

rnold's chance of surprising Quebec had lost ten days before he was able to cross St Lawrence; and when the habitants on south shore were helping his men to make ng-ladders the British garrison on the h had already become too strong for him. he was indefatigable in collecting boats canoes at the mouth of the Chaudière, at other points higher up than Cramahé's had reached when on their mission of ruction or removal, and he was as capable ver when, on the pitch-black night of 13th, he led his little flotilla through the between the two British men-of-war, the *ter* and the *Lizard*. The next day he hed across the Plains of Abraham and ed Quebec with three cheers. But mean- e Colonel Maclean, who had set out to help eton at Montreal and turned back on ing the news of St Johns, had slipped into bec on the 12th. So Arnold found him- with less than seven hundred effectives nst the eleven hundred British who were behind the walls. After vainly summon-

ing the city to surrender he retired to Po
aux-Trembles, more than twenty miles up
north shore of the St Lawrence, there to a
the arrival of the victorious Montgomery

Meanwhile Montgomery was racing
Carleton and Carleton was racing for Que
Montgomery's advance-guard had hurried
to Sorel, at the mouth of the Richelieu, fo
five miles below Montreal, to mount guns
would command the narrow channel thro
which the fugitive governor would have
pass on his way to Quebec. They had an
time to set the trap; for an incessant n
easter blew up the St Lawrence day after
and held Carleton fast in Montreal, wh
only a league away, Montgomery's main b
was preparing to cross over. Escape by l
was impossible, as the Americans held Berth
on the north shore, and had won over
habitants, all the way down from Montr
on both sides of the river. At last, on
afternoon of the 11th, the wind shifted.
mediately a single cannon-shot was fired
bugle sounded the *fall in!* and 'the wh
military establishment' of Montreal form
up in the barrack square—one hundred a
thirty officers and men, all told. Carlet

'ung to the soul,' as one of his officers wrote
ıe, came on parade 'firm, unshaken, and
ne.' The little column then marched
n to the boats through shuttered streets of
id neutrals and scowling rebels. The few
alists who came to say good-bye to Carleton
he wharf might well have thought it was
last handshake they would ever get from
ritish 'Captain-General and Governor-in-
f' as they saw him step aboard in the
ary dusk of that November afternoon.
l if he and they had known the worst they
ht well have thought their fate was
ed; for neither of them then knew that
ı sides of the St Lawrence were occupied
orce at two different places on the perilous
to Quebec.

he little flotilla of eleven vessels got safely
n to within a few miles of Sorel, when one
ınded and delayed the rest till the wind
d altogether at noon on the 12th. The
t three days it blew upstream without a
ık. No progress could be made as there
no room to tack in the narrow passages
osite Sorel. On the third day an American
ting battery suddenly appeared, firing
l. Behind it came a boat with a flag of
e and the following summons from Colonel

Easton, who commanded Montgomery's vance-guard at Sorel:

> Sir,—By this you will learn that Ger Montgomery is in Possession of the Fort Montreal. You are very sensible th am in Possession at this Place, and t from the strength of the United Colo on both sides your own situation Rendered Very disagreeable. I am th fore induced to make you the follow Proposal, viz.:—That if you will Re your Fleet to me Immediately, with destroying the Effects on Board, You Your men shall be used with due civi together with women & Children on Bo To this I shall expect Your direct Immediate answer. Should you Neg You will Cherefully take the Consequen which will follow.

Carleton was surprised: and well he mi be. He had not supposed that Montgome men were in any such commanding positi But, like Cramahé at Quebec, he refused answer; whereupon Easton's batteries ope both from the south shore and from Isle Ignace. Carleton's heaviest gun was a pounder; while Easton had four 12-pound

of them mounted on a rowing battery soon forced the British to retreat. The per of the schooner containing the powder gazine wanted to surrender on the spot, cially when he heard that the Americans e getting some hot shot ready for him. Carleton retreated upstream, twelve s above Sorel, to Lavaltrie, just above thier on the north shore, where, on attempt- to land, he was driven back by some ericans and habitants. Next morning, 16th, a fateful day for Canada, the same or Brown who had failed Ethan Allen at treal came up with a flag of truce to pose that Carleton should send an officer ee for himself how well all chance of escape now been cut off. The offer was accepted; Brown explained the situation from the l point of view. 'This is my small tery; and, even if you should chance to pe, I have a grand battery at the mouth he Sorel [Richelieu] which will infallibly all of your vessels. Wait a little till you the 32-pounders that are now within half- ile.' There was a good deal of Yankee f in this warning, especially as the 32- nders could not be mounted in time. But British officer seemed perfectly satisfied

that the way was completely blocked; so the Americans felt sure that Carleton w surrender the following day.

Carleton, however, was not the man to in till the very last; and one desperate cha still remained. His flotilla was doomed. he might still get through alone without One of the French-Canadian skippers, be known as 'Le Tourt'e' or 'Wild Pigeon' t by his own name of Bouchette because of wonderfully quick trips, was persuaded make the dash for freedom. So Carle having ordered Prescott, his second-in-c mand, not to surrender the flotilla before last possible moment, arranged for his escape in a whaleboat. It was with infi precaution that he made his preparati as the enemy, though confident of taking h were still on the alert to prevent such a p from slipping through their fingers. dressed like a habitant from head to fo putting on a tasselled *bonnet rouge* and *étoffe du pays* (grey homespun) suit of cloth with a red sash and *bottes sauvages* like Ind moccasins. Then the whaleboat was quie brought alongside. The crew got in and pl their muffled oars noiselessly down to narrow passage between Isle St Ignace a

Isle du Pas, where they shipped the oars leaned over the side to paddle past the rest battery with the palms of their hands. was a moment of breathless excitement; the hope of Canada was in their keeping no turning back was possible. But the erican sentries saw no furtive French adians gliding through that dark Nov- er night and heard no suspicious noises ve the regular ripple of the eddying island ent. One tense half-hour and all was over. oars were run out again; the men gave with a will; and Three Rivers was safely hed in the morning.

ere Carleton met Captain Napier, who him aboard the armed ship *Fell*, in which ontinued his journey to Quebec. He was tically safe aboard the *Fell*; for Arnold neither an army strong enough to take bec nor any craft big enough to fight hip. But the flotilla above Sorel was med. After throwing all its powder into St Lawrence it surrendered on the 19th, very day Carleton reached Quebec. The nished Americans were furious when they nd that Carleton had slipped through their ers after all. They got Prescott, whom hated; and they released Walker, whom

Carleton was taking as a prisoner to Qu
But no friends and foes like Walker
Prescott could make up for the loss of Carl
who was the heart as well as the hea
Canada at bay.

The exultation of the British more
matched the disappointment of the Americ
Thomas Ainslie, collector of customs
captain of militia at Quebec, only expre
the feelings of all his fellow-loyalists whe
made the following entry in the extre
accurate diary he kept throughout t
troublous times :

'On the 19th (a Happy Day for Quebe
to the unspeakable joy of the friends of
Government, and to the utter Dismay of
abettors of Sedition and Rebellion, Gen
Carleton arrived in the *Fell*, arm'd ship,
companied by an arm'd schooner. We
our Salvation in his Presence.'

CHAPTER V

BELEAGUERMENT

1775-1776

EN Carleton finally turned at bay within walls of Quebec the British flag waved less than a single one out of the more than illion square miles that had so recently n included within the boundaries of ada. The landward walls cut off the last -mile of the tilted promontory which rises e hundred feet above the St Lawrence only one hundred above the valley of the Charles. This promontory is just a thou- d yards wide where the landward walls across it, and not much wider across the ld-famous Heights and Plains of Abraham, ch then covered the first two miles beyond. whole position makes one of Nature's ngholds when the enemy can be kept at 's length. But Carleton had no men to re for more than the actual walls and the row little strip of the Lower Town between

the base of the cliff and the St Lawrence. the enemy closed in along the Heights among the suburbs, besides occupying point of vantage they chose across the Lawrence or St Charles.

The walls were by no means fit to stan siege, a fact which Carleton had freque reported. But, as the Americans had nei the men nor the material for a regular si they were obliged to confine themselves mere beleaguerment, with the chance of ing Quebec by assault. One of Carlet first acts was to proclaim that every a bodied man refusing to bear arms was to le the town within four days. But, though had the desired effect of clearing out nearly the dangerous rebels, the Americans still lieved they had enough sympathizers ins to turn the scale of victory if they could o manage to take the Lower Town, with all commercial property and shipping, or gai footing anywhere within the walls.

There were five thousand souls left Quebec, which was well provisioned for winter. The women, children, and men u to bear arms numbered three thousand. T 'exempts' amounted to a hundred a eighty. As there was a growing suspic

t many of these last, Carleton paraded
n for medical examination at the beginning
arch, when a good deal more than half
found quite fit for duty. These men had
malingering all winter in order to skulk
of danger; so he treated them with ex-
e leniency in only putting them on duty
'company of Invalids.' But the slur
x fast. The only other exceptions to the
ral efficiency were a very few instances
owardice and many more of slackness.
militia order-books have repeated entries
t men who turned up late for even im-
ant duties as well as about others whose
orized substitutes were no better than
nselves. But it should be remembered
as a whole, the garrison did exceedingly
service and that all the malingerers and
us delinquents together did not amount
ore than a tenth of its total, which is a
l proportion for such a mixed body.
ne effective strength at the beginning of
siege was eighteen hundred of all ranks.
one hundred of these belonged to the
lar British garrison in Canada—a few
-officers, twenty-two men of the Royal
lery, and seventy men of the 7th Royal
liers, a regiment which was to be com-

manded in Quebec sixteen years late
Queen Victoria's father, the Duke of K
The Fusiliers and two hundred and t
'Royal Emigrants' were formed into a
battalion under Colonel Maclean, a first
officer and Carleton's right-hand ma
action. 'His Majesty's Royal High
Regiment of Emigrants,' which subseque
became the 84th Foot, now known as the
York and Lancaster, was hastily raise
1775 from the Highland veterans who
settled in the American colonies after
Peace of 1763. Maclean's two hundred
thirty were the first men he could get toge
in time to reach Quebec. The only o
professional fighters were four hundred b
jackets and thirty-five marines of H.M
Lizard and *Hunter*, who were formed in
naval battalion under their own offic
Captains Hamilton and M'Kenzie, Hami
being made a lieutenant-colonel and M'Ke
a major while doing duty ashore. F
masters and mates of trading vessels were
rolled in the same battalion. The whole of
shipping was laid up for the winter in
Cul de Sac, which alone made the Lo
Town a prize worth taking. The 'Bri
Militia' mustered three hundred and thi

RICHARD MONTGOMERY

From an engraving in the John Ross Robertson Collection,

' Canadian Militia ' five hundred and forty-
ee. These two corps included practically
the official and business classes in Quebec
formed nearly half the total combatants.
ne of them took no pay and were not
nd to service beyond the neighbourhood of
bec, thus being very much like the Home
rds raised all over Canada and the rest of
Empire during the Great World War of
4. All the militia wore dark green coats
n buff waistcoats and breeches. The total
eighteen hundred was completed by a
dred and twenty ' artificers,' that is, men
would now belong to the Engineers,
nance, and Army Service Corps. As the
position of this garrison has been so often
epresented, it may be as well to state
inctly that the past or present regulars
all kinds, soldiers and sailors together,
bered eight hundred and the militia and
r non-regulars a thousand. The French
adians, very few of whom were or had been
lars, formed less than a third of the whole.
ontgomery and Arnold had about the
e total number of men. Sometimes there
more, sometimes less. But what made
real difference, and what really turned the
, was that the Americans had hardly

any regulars and that their effectives ran averaged three-quarters of their total streng The balance was also against them in matter of armament. For, though Morga Virginians had many more rifles than were be found among the British, the Americ in general were not so well off for bayon and not so well able to use those they ha while the artillery odds were still more agai them. Carleton's artillery was not of the be But it was better than that of the Ame cans. He decidedly overmatched them in combined strength of all kinds of ordnance cannons, carronades, howitzers, mortars, a swivels. Cannons and howitzers fired sh and shell at any range up to the limit th reached, between two and three miles. C ronades were on the principle of a gigan shotgun, firing masses of bullets with gre effect at very short ranges—less than that a long musket-shot, then reckoned at t hundred yards. The biggest mortars thr 13-inch 224-lb shells to a great distance. B their main use was for high-angle fire, such that from the suburb of St Roch under t walls of Quebec. Swivels were the smalle kind of ordnance, firing one-, two-, or thre pound balls at short or medium ranges. Th

used at convenient points to stop rushes,
like modern machine-guns.
anks chiefly to Cramahé, the defences
not nearly so 'ruinous' as Arnold at
had thought them. The walls, however
s against the best siege artillery, were
dable enough against irregular troops
makeshift batteries; while the ware-
s and shipping in the Lower Town were
cted by two stockades, one straight
Cape Diamond, the other at the corner
the Lower Town turns into the valley
e St Charles. The first was called the
de-Ville, the second the Sault-au-Matelot.
hipping was open to bombardment from
evis shore. But the Americans had no
o spare for this till April.

ntgomery's advance was greatly aided
e little flotilla which Easton had cap-
at Sorel. Montgomery met Arnold at
e-aux-Trembles, twenty miles above
c, on the 2nd of December and supplied
tle half-clad force with the British uni-
taken at St Johns and Chambly. He
greatly pleased with the magnificent
que of Arnold's men, the fittest of an
ally well-picked lot. He still had some

'pusillanimous wretches' among his own
Yorkers, who resented the air of superio
affected by Arnold's New Englanders
Morgan's Virginians. He felt a well-dese
confidence in Livingston and some of
English-speaking Canadian 'patriots' w
Livingston had brought into his camp be
St Johns in September. But he began to
more and more doubtful about the Fr
Canadians, most of whom began to feel
and more doubtful about themselves.
the 6th he arrived before Quebec and too
his quarters in Holland House, two
beyond the walls, at the far end of the Pl
of Abraham. The same day he sent Carl
the following summons:

> SIR,—Notwithstanding the persona
> treatment I have received at your h
> —notwithstanding your cruelty to the
> happy Prisoners you have taken, the
> ings of humanity induce me to have
> course to this expedient to save you f
> the Destruction which hangs over
> Give me leave, Sir, to assure you th
> am well acquainted with your situat
> A great extent of works, in their na
> incapable of defence, manned with a mo

ew of sailors, the greatest part our iends; of citizens, who wish to see us ithin their walls, & a few of the worst oops who ever stiled themselves Soldiers. he impossibility of relief, and the certain rospect of wanting every necessary of life, ould your opponents confine their operaons to a simple Blockade, point out the surdity of resistance. Such is your tuation! I am at the head of troops customed to Success, confident of the ghteousness of the cause they are enaged in, inured to danger, & so highly censed at your inhumanity, illiberal buse, and the ungenerous means employed prejudice them in the mind of the Canaans that it is with difficulty I restrain em till my Batteries are ready from ssaulting your works, which afford them fair opportunity of ample vengeance and st retaliation. Firing upon a flag of uce, hitherto unprecedented, even among vages, prevents my taking the ordinary ode of communicating my sentiments. owever, I will at any rate acquit my nscience. Should you persist in an unarrantable defence, the consequences be pon your own head. Beware of destroy-

ing stores of any kind, Publick or Pri
as you have done at Montreal and in T
Rivers—If you do, by Heaven, there
be no mercy shown.

Though Montgomery wrote bunkum
the common politician of that and ma
later age, he was really a brave soldier. V
galled him into fury was 'grave Carleto
quiet refusal to recognize either him or
other rebel commander as the accre
leader of a hostile army. It certainly
have been exasperating for the general o
Continental Congress to be reduced to
expedients as tying a grandiloquent ult
tum to an arrow and shooting it into
beleaguered town. The charge of firing
flags of truce was another instance of 'tal
for Buncombe.' Carleton never fired on
white flag. But he always sent the s
answer: that he could hold no communica
with any rebels unless they came to imp
the king's pardon. This, of course, wa
aggravation of his offensive calmness in
face of so much revolutionary rage. To
dividual rebels of all sorts he was, if anyth
over-indulgent. He would not burn
suburbs of Quebec till the enemy forced

t, though many of the houses that gave the ericans the best cover belonged to rebel adians. He went out of his way to be d to all prisoners, especially if sick or unded. And it was entirely owing to his raining influence that the friendly Indians not raided the border settlements of New gland during the summer. Nor was he mated only by the very natural desire of nging back rebellious subjects to what he ught their true allegiance, as his sub-uent actions amply proved. He simply ed with the calm dignity and impartial tice which his position required.

Three days before Christmas the bombard-nt began in earnest. The non-combatants n found, to their equal amazement and ght, that a good many shells did very little nage if fired about at random. But news ended to make their flesh creep came in at same time, and probably had more effect n the shells on the weak-kneed members the community. Seven hundred scaling-ders, no quarter if Carleton persisted in ding out, and a prophecy attributed to ntgomery that he would eat his Christmas ner either in Quebec or in Hell—these were ne of the blood-curdling items that came

in by petticoat or arrow post. One of
most active purveyors of all this bombast
Jerry Duggan, a Canadian 'patriot' bar
now become a Continental major.

But there was a serious side. Desert
and prisoners, as well as British adhere
who had escaped, all began to tell the sa
tale, though with many variations. Mo
gomery was evidently bent on storming
walls the first dark night. His own ord
showed it.

HEAD QUARTERS, HOLLAND HOUS
Near Quebec, 15*th Decr.* 1775.

The General having in vain offered
most favourable terms of accommodati
to the Governor of Quebec, & havi
taken every possible step to prevail on
inhabitants to desist from seconding h
in his wild scheme of defending the Town
for the speedy reduction of the only h
possessed by the Ministerial Troops
this Province—— The soldiers, flush
with continual success, confident of
justice of their cause, & relying on th
Providence which has uniformly protect
them, will advance with alacrity to
attack of works incapable of being
fended by the wretched Garrison post

ehind them, consisting of Sailors unac-
uainted with the use of arms, of Citizens
ıcapable of Soldiers' duty, & of a few
ıiserable Emigrants. The General is con-
dent that a vigorous & spirited attack
ıust be attended with success. The
roops shall have the effects of the Gover-
or, Garrison, & of such as have been
ctive in misleading the Inhabitants &
istressing the friends of liberty, equally
ivided among them, except the 100th
hare out of the whole, which shall be at
ıe disposal of the General to be given to
uch soldiers as distinguished themselves
y their activity & bravery, to be sold at
ublic auction: the whole to be con-
ucted as soon as the City is in our hands
nd the inhabitants disarmed.

was a week after these orders had been
ten before the first positive news of the
atened assault was brought into town by
escaped British prisoner who, strangely
gh, bore the name of Wolfe. Wolfe's
pe naturally caused a postponement of
tgomery's design and a further council of
Unlike most councils of war this one
full of fight. Three feints were to be

made at different points while the real at
was to be driven home at Cape Diam
But just after this decision had been rea
two rebel Montrealers came down and
another debate, carried the day for ano
plan. These men, Antell and Price,
really responsible for the final plan, wh
like its predecessor, did not meet with M
gomery's approval. Montgomery wanted
make a breach before trying the walls.
he was no more than the chairman of a c
mittee; and this egregious committee
decided to storm the unbroken walls and t
changed to an attack on the Lower Town o
Antell was Montgomery's engineer. P
was a red-hot agitator. Both were bette
politics than soldiering. Their argument
that if the Lower Town could be taken
Quebec militia would force Carleton to
render in order to save the warehou
shipping, and other valuable property al
the waterfront, and that even if Carle
held out in debate he would soon be brou
to his knees by the Americans, who wo
march through the gates, which were to
opened by the 'patriots' inside.

Another week passed; and Montgom
had not eaten his Christmas dinner eit

Quebec or in the other place. But both
es knew the crisis must be fast approach-
; for the New Yorkers had sworn that
y would not stay a minute later than the
l of the year, when their term of enlistment
s up. Thus every day that passed made
immediate assault more likely, as Mont-
nery had to strike before his own men
: him. Yet New Year's Eve itself began
hout the sign of an alarm.

Carleton had been sleeping in his clothes
the Récollets', night after night, so that
might be first on parade at the general
dezvous on the Place d'Armes, which stood
ır the top of Mountain Hill, the only road
tween the Upper and the Lower Town.
icers and men off duty had been following
example; and every one was ready to
n out at a moment's notice.

A north-easterly snowstorm was blowing
iously, straight up the St Lawrence, making
ebec a partly seen blur to the nearest
nerican patrols and the Heights of Abraham
wild sea of whirling drifts to the nearest
itish sentries. One o'clock passed, and
thing stirred. But when two o'clock struck
Holland House Montgomery rose and began
put the council's plan in operation. The

Lower Town was to be attacked at both en
The Près-de-Ville barricade was to be carr
by Montgomery and the Sault-au-Matelot
Arnold, while Livingston was to distra
Carleton's attention as much as possible
making a feint against the landward wa
where the British still expected the real atta
Livingston's Canadian fighting 'patriot
waded through the drifts, against the stor
across the Plains, and took post close in
the far side of Cape Diamond, only eigh
yards from the same walls that were to ha
been stormed some days before. Jer
Duggan's parasitic Canadian 'patriots' to
post in the suburb of St John and then
round to Palace Gate. Montgomery led h
own column straight to Wolfe's Cove, when
he marched in along the narrow path betwe
the cliff and the St Lawrence till he reach
the spot at the foot of Cape Diamond ju
under the right of Livingston's line. Arnol
whose quarters were in the valley of the
Charles, took post in St Roch, with a mort
battery to fire against the walls and a colum
of men to storm the Sault-au-Matelo
Livingston's and Jerry Duggan's whole com
mand numbered about four hundred me
Montgomery's five hundred, Arnold's si

e opposing totals were fifteen hundred
ericans against seventeen hundred British.
ere was considerable risk of confusion be-
en friend and foe, as most of the Americans,
ecially Arnold's men, wore captured British
forms with nothing to distinguish them
odds and ends of their former kits and a
t of paper hatband bearing the inscription
erty or Death.

A little after four the sentries on the walls
Cape Diamond saw lights flashing about in
nt of them and were just going to call the
ard when Captain Malcolm Fraser of the
yal Emigrants came by on his rounds and
other lights being set out in regular order
e lamps in a street. He instantly turned
the guards and pickets. The drums beat
arms. Every church bell in the city pealed
th its alarm into that wild night. The
gles blew. The men off duty swarmed on
the Place d'Armes, where Carleton, calm
d intrepid as ever, took post with the general
erve and waited. There was nothing for
n to do just yet. Everything that could
ve been foreseen had already been amply
ovided for; and in his quiet confidence his
owers found their own.

Towards five o'clock two green rockets shot

up from Montgomery's position beside t
Anse des Mères under Cape Diamond. Th
was the signal for attack. Montgomery
column immediately struggled on again alo
the path leading round the foot of the Ca
towards the Près-de-Ville barricade. Livin
ston's serious 'patriots' on the top of th
Cape changed their dropping shots into a h
fire against the walls; while Jerry Duggan
little mob of would-be looters shouted an
blazed away from safer cover in the suburb
of St John and St Roch. Arnold's morta
pitched shells all over the town; while h
storming-party advanced towards the Saul
au-Matelot barricade. Carleton, naturall
anxious about the landward walls, sent som
of the British militia to reinforce the men a
Cape Diamond, which, as he knew, Mont
gomery considered the best point of attack
The walls lower down did not seem to be i
any danger from Jerry Duggan's 'patriots,
whose noisy demonstration was at once under
stood to be nothing but an empty feint. Th
walls facing the St Charles were well manne
and well gunned by the naval battalion
Those facing the St Lawrence, though weak i
themselves, were practically impregnable, a
the cliffs could not be scaled by any forme

The Lower Town, however, was by eans so safe, in spite of its two barricades. general uproar was now so great that ton could not distinguish the firing there what was going on elsewhere. But it t these two points that the real attack apidly developing.

e first decisive action took place at Près- lle. The guard there consisted of fifty —John Coffin, who was a merchant of ec, Sergeant Hugh M'Quarters of the l Artillery, Captain Barnsfair, a merchant er, with fifteen mates and skippers like lf, and thirty French Canadians under ain Chabot and Lieutenant Picard. These men had to guard a front of only as feet. On their right Cape Diamond almost sheer. On their left raged the y St Lawrence. They had a tiny block- next to the cliff and four small guns he barricade, all double-charged with ter and grape. They had heard the ping shots on the top of the Cape for y an hour and had been quick to notice hange to a regular hot fire. But they o idea whether their own post was to be ked or not till they suddenly saw the of Montgomery's column halting within

fifty paces of them. A man came forw cautiously and looked at the barricade. storm was in his face. The defences w wreathed in whirling snow. And the inside kept silent as the grave. When went back a little group stood for a coupl minutes in hurried consultation. Then Mo gomery waved his sword, called out 'Co on, brave boys, Quebec is ours!' and the charge. The defenders let the Americ get about half-way before Barnsfair shou 'Fire!' Then the guns and muskets volle together, cutting down the whole front of densely massed column. Montgomery, two staff-officers, and his ten leading men w instantly killed. Some more farther b were wounded. And just as the fifty Brit fired their second round the rest of the hundred Americans turned and ran in w confusion.

A few minutes later a man whose ident was never established came running from Lower Town to say that Arnold's men h taken the Sault-au-Matelot barricade. If t was true it meant that the Près-de-Ville fi would be caught between two fires. So of them made as if to run back and rea Mountain Hill before the Americans could

m off. But Coffin at once threatened to the first man to move; and by the time artillery officer had arrived with reinforce- its perfect order had been restored. This cer, finding he was not wanted there, sent k to know where else he was to go, and re- ed an answer telling him to hurry to the lt-au-Matelot. When he arrived there, than half a mile off, he found that desper- street fighting had been going on for over our.

rnold's advance had begun at the same e as Livingston's demonstration and Mont- ery's attack. But his task was very rent and the time required much longer. re were three obstacles to be overcome. t, his men had to run the gauntlet of the from the bluejackets ranged along the nd Battery, which faced the St Charles s mouth and overlooked the narrow little t of Sous-le-Cap at a height of fifty or feet. Then they had to take the small nced barricade, which stood a hundred s on the St Charles side of the actual t-au-Matelot or Sailor's Leap, which is the h-easterly point of the Quebec promontory nearly a hundred feet high. Finally, had to round this point and attack the

regular Sault-au-Matelot barricade. Th second barricade was about a hundred yar long, from the rock to the river. It cross Sault-au-Matelot Street and St Peter Stree which were the same then as now. But ended on a wharf half-way down the mode St James Street, as the outer half of this stre was then a natural strand completely cover at high tide. It was much closer than the Pr de-Ville barricade was to Mountain Hill, at t top of which Carleton held his general reser ready in the Place d'Armes; and it was fair strong in material and armament. But it w at first defended by only a hundred men.

The American forlorn hope, under Capta Oswald, got past most of the Grand Batte unscathed. But by the time the main bo was following under Morgan the British blu jackets were firing down from the walls at le than point-blank range. The driving sno the clumps of bushes on the cliff, and t little houses in the street below all gave t Americans some welcome cover. But ma of them were hit; while the gun they we towing through the drifts on a sleigh stu fast and had to be abandoned. Capta Dearborn, the future commander-in-chief the American army in the War of 1812, not

s diary that he 'met the wounded men
thick' as he was bringing up the rear.
n the forlorn hope reached the advanced
cade Arnold halted it till the supports
come up. The loss of the gun and the
ying his main body was receiving from
sailors along the Grand Battery spoilt
riginal plan of smashing in the barricade
nell fire while Morgan circled round its
flank on the ice of the tidal flats and took
rear. So he decided on a frontal attack.
n he thought he had a fair chance he
ed to the front and shouted, 'Now, boys,
ogether, rush!' But before he could
the barricade he was shot through the
For some time he propped himself up
st a house and, leaning on his rifle, con-
d encouraging his men, who were soon
through the port-holes as well as over
op. But presently growing faint from
f blood he had to be carried off the field
e General Hospital on the banks of the
harles.

e men now called out for a lead from
an, who climbed a ladder, leaped the top,
fell under a gun inside. In another
te the whole forlorn hope had followed
while the main body came close behind.

The guard, not strong in numbers and w
in being composed of young militiamen, g
way but kept on firing. 'Down with y
arms if you want quarter!' yelled Morg
whose men were in overwhelming streng
and the guard surrendered. A little
beyond, just under the bluff of the Sault-
Matelot, the British supports, many of wh
were Seminary students, also surrendered
Morgan, who at once pressed on, round
corner of the Sault-au-Matelot, and halted
sight of the second or regular barrica
What was to be done now? Where
Montgomery? How strong was the ba
cade; and had it been reinforced? It co
not be turned because the cliff rose sheer
one flank while the icy St Lawrence las
the other. Had Morgan known that th
were only a hundred men behind it when
attacked its advanced barricade he might h
pressed on at all costs and carried it by assa
But it looked strong, there were guns on
platforms, and it ran across two streets.
hurried council of war over-ruled him,
Montgomery's council had over-ruled
original plan of storming the walls; and so
men began a desultory fight in the streets
from the houses.

is was fatal to American success. The nal British hundred were rapidly rein- d. The artillery officer who had found he was not needed at the Près-de-Ville Montgomery's defeat, and who had ed across the intervening half-mile, now ied the corner houses, enlarged the em- res, and trained his guns on the houses ied by the enemy. Detachments of ers and Royal Emigrants also arrived, d the thirty-five masters and mates of nant vessels who were not on guard with sfair at the Près-de-Ville. Thus, what soldiers, sailors, and militiamen of both the main Sault-au-Matelot barricade nade secure against being rushed like the one. But there was plenty of fighting, some confusion at close quarters caused e British uniforms which both sides were ng. A Herculean sailor seized the first r the Americans set against the barricade, d it up, and set it against the window of se out of the far end of which the enemy firing. Major Nairne and Lieutenant ourges of the Royal Emigrants at once ed in at the head of a storming-party wild work followed with the bayonet. e Americans inside were either killed or

captured. Meanwhile a vigorous British ni
pounder had been turned on another ho
they occupied. This house was likew
battered in, so that its surviving occupa
had to run into the street, where they w
well plied with musketry by the regulars
militiamen. The chance for a sortie t
seeming favourable, Lieutenant Anderson
the Navy headed his thirty-five merch
mates and skippers in a rush along Sault-
Matelot Street. But his effort was pre
ture. Morgan shot him dead, and Morga
Virginians drove the seamen back inside
barricade.

Carleton had of course kept in perfect to
with every phase of the attack and defen
and now, fearing no surprise against the w
in the growing daylight, had decided on tak
Arnold's men in rear. To do this he s
Captain Lawes of the Royal Engineers a
Captain M'Dougall of the Royal Emigra
with a hundred and twenty men out throu
Palace Gate. This detachment had har
reached the advanced barricade before th
fell in with the enemy's rearguard, which th
took by complete surprise and captured
a man. Leaving M'Dougall to secure th
prisoners before following on, Lawes push

erly forward, round the corner of the Sault-
Matelot cliff, and, running in among the
ericans facing the main barricade, called
, 'You are all my prisoners!' 'No, we 're
; you 're ours!' they answered. 'No,
' replied Lawes, as coolly as if on parade,
on't mistake yourselves, I vow to God
u 're mine!' 'But where are your men?'
ed the astonished Americans; and then
wes suddenly found that he was utterly
ne! The roar of the storm and the work
securing the prisoners on the far side of the
vanced barricade had prevented the men
o should have followed him from under-
nding that only a few were needed with
Dougall. But Lawes put a bold face on it
d answered, 'O, Ho, make yourselves easy!
men are all round here and they 'll be with
u in a twinkling.' He was then seized and
armed. Some of the Americans called out,
ill him! Kill him!' But a Major Meigs
otected him. The whole parley had lasted
out ten minutes when M'Dougall came
ning up with the missing men, released
wes, and made prisoners of the nearest
ericans. Lawes at once stepped forward
d called on the rest to surrender. Morgan
s for cutting his way through. A few men

ran round by the wharf and escaped on th tidal flats of the St Charles. But, after hurried consultation, the main body, includin Morgan, laid down their arms. This wa decisive. The British had won the fight.

The complete British loss in killed an wounded was wonderfully small, only thirty just one-tenth of the corresponding America loss, which was large out of all proportion Nearly half of the fifteen hundred American had gone—over four hundred prisoners an about three hundred killed and wounded Nor were the mere numbers the most tellin point about it; for the worse half escaped— Livingston's Montreal 'patriots,' many o whom had done very little fighting, Mont gomery's time-expired New Yorkers, most o whom wanted to go home, and Jerry Duggan' miscellaneous rabble, all of whom wanted maximum of plunder with a minimum of war

The British victory was as nearly perfec as could have been desired. It marked th turn of the tide in a desperate campaign whic might have resulted in the total loss of Canada And it was of the greatest significance an happiest augury because all the racial element of this new and vast domain had here unite for the first time in defence of that which wa

e their common heritage. In Carleton's garrison of regulars and militia, of ackets, marines, and merchant seamen, e were Frenchmen and French Canadians, e were Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotsmen, hmen, Orcadians, and Channel Islanders, e were a few Newfoundlanders, and there a good many of those steadfast Royal grants who may be fitly called the fore- ers of the United Empire Loyalists. Yet, pite of this remarkable significance, no ic memorial of Carleton has ever been up; and it was only in the twentieth ury that the Dominion first thought of memorating his most pregnant victory by ng tablets to mark the sites of the two us barricades.

soon as things had quieted down within walls Carleton sent out search-parties to in the dead for decent burial and to see y of the wounded had been overlooked. es Thompson, the assistant engineer, saw zen hand protruding from a snowdrift ès-de-Ville. It was Montgomery's. The een bodies were dug out and Thompson ordered to have a 'genteel coffin made Mr Montgomery,' who was buried in the

wall just above St Louis Gate by the Ang
can chaplain. Thompson kept Montgomery
sword, which was given to the Livingst
family more than a century later.

The beleaguerment continued, in a ha
hearted way, till the spring. The America
received various small reinforcements, whi
eventually brought their total up to wh
it had been under Montgomery's comman
But there were no more assaults. Arno
grew dissatisfied and finally went to Montrea
while Wooster, the new general, who arriv
on the 1st of April, was himself succeeded
Thomas, an ex-apothecary, on the 1st of Ma
The suburb of St Roch was burnt down aft
the victory; so the American snipers we
bereft of some very favourite cover, and th
with other causes, kept the bulk of the b
siegers at an ineffective distance from t
walls.

The British garrison had certain lit
troubles of its own; for discipline alwa
tends to become irksome after a great effo
Carleton was obliged to stop the retailing
spirits for fear the slacker men would
getting out of hand. The guards and dut
were made as easy as possible, especially f
the militia. But the 'snow-shovel parad

as an imperative necessity. The winter as very stormy, and the drifts would have equently covered the walls and even the ns if they had not promptly been dug out. ne cold was also unusually severe. One rly morning in January an angry officer was king a sentry why he hadn't challenged him, nen the sentry said, 'God bless your Honour! d I 'm glad you 're come, for I 'm blind!' nen it was found that his eyelids were frozen st together.

News came in occasionally from the outside orld. There was intense indignation among e garrison when they learned that the merican commanders in Montreal were im-isoning every Canadian officer who would t surrender his commission. Such an un-eard-of outrage was worthy of Walker. But hers must have thought of it; for Walker as now in Philadelphia giving all the evidence e could against Prescott and other British ficers. Bad news for the rebels was natur-ly welcomed, especially anything about their owing failure to raise troops in Canada. n hearing of Montgomery's defeat the Con-nental Congress had passed a resolution, ldressed to the 'Inhabitants of Canada,' eclaring that 'we will never abandon you

to the unrelenting fury of your and ou enemies.' But there were no trained soldier to back this up; and the raw militia, thoug often filled with zeal and courage, could d nothing to redress the increasingly advers balance. In the middle of March the American sent in a summons. But Carleton refused t receive it; and the garrison put a wooden horse and a bundle of hay on the walls with placard bearing the inscription, 'When thi horse has eaten this bunch of hay we wil surrender.' Some excellent practice mad with 13-inch shells sent the Americans flying from their new battery at Levis; and by th 17th of March one of the several exultant British diarists, whose anonymity must have covered an Irish name, was able to record that 'this, being St Patrick's Day, the Governor, who is a true Hibernian, has re quested the garrison to put off keeping it til the 17th of May, when he promises, they shal be enabled to do it properly, and with the usual solemnities.'

A fortnight later a plot concerted between the American prisoners and their friends out side was discovered just in time. With tools supplied by traitors they were to work their way out of their quarters, overpower the

ıard at the nearest gate, set fire to the earest houses in three different streets, turn ıe nearest guns inwards on the town, and ıout 'Liberty for ever!' as an additional gnal to the storming-party that was to be aiting to confirm their success. Carleton ized the chance of turning this scheme gainst the enemy. Three safe bonfires were t ablaze. The marked guns were turned wards and fired at the town with blank ıarges. And the preconcerted shout was ised with a will. But the besiegers never irred. After this the Old-Countrymen nong the prisoners, who had taken the oath ıd enlisted in the garrison, were disarmed ıd confined, while the rest were more strictly atched.

Two brave attempts were made by French anadians to reach Quebec with reinforce-ents, one headed by a seigneur, the other by parish priest. Carleton had sent word to . de Beaujeu, seigneur of Crane Island, rty miles below Quebec, asking him to see he could cut off the American detach-ent on the Levis shore. De Beaujeu raised ıree hundred and fifty men. But Arnold sent ver reinforcements. A habitant betrayed his llow-countrymen's advance-guard. A dozen

French Canadians were then killed or wounde while forty were taken prisoners; whereupo the rest dispersed to their homes. The othe attempt was made by Father Bailly, whos little force of about fifty men was also be trayed. Entrapped in a country-house thes men fought bravely till nearly half the number had been killed or wounded and th valiant priest had been mortally hit. The then surrendered to a much stronger forc which had lost more men than they.

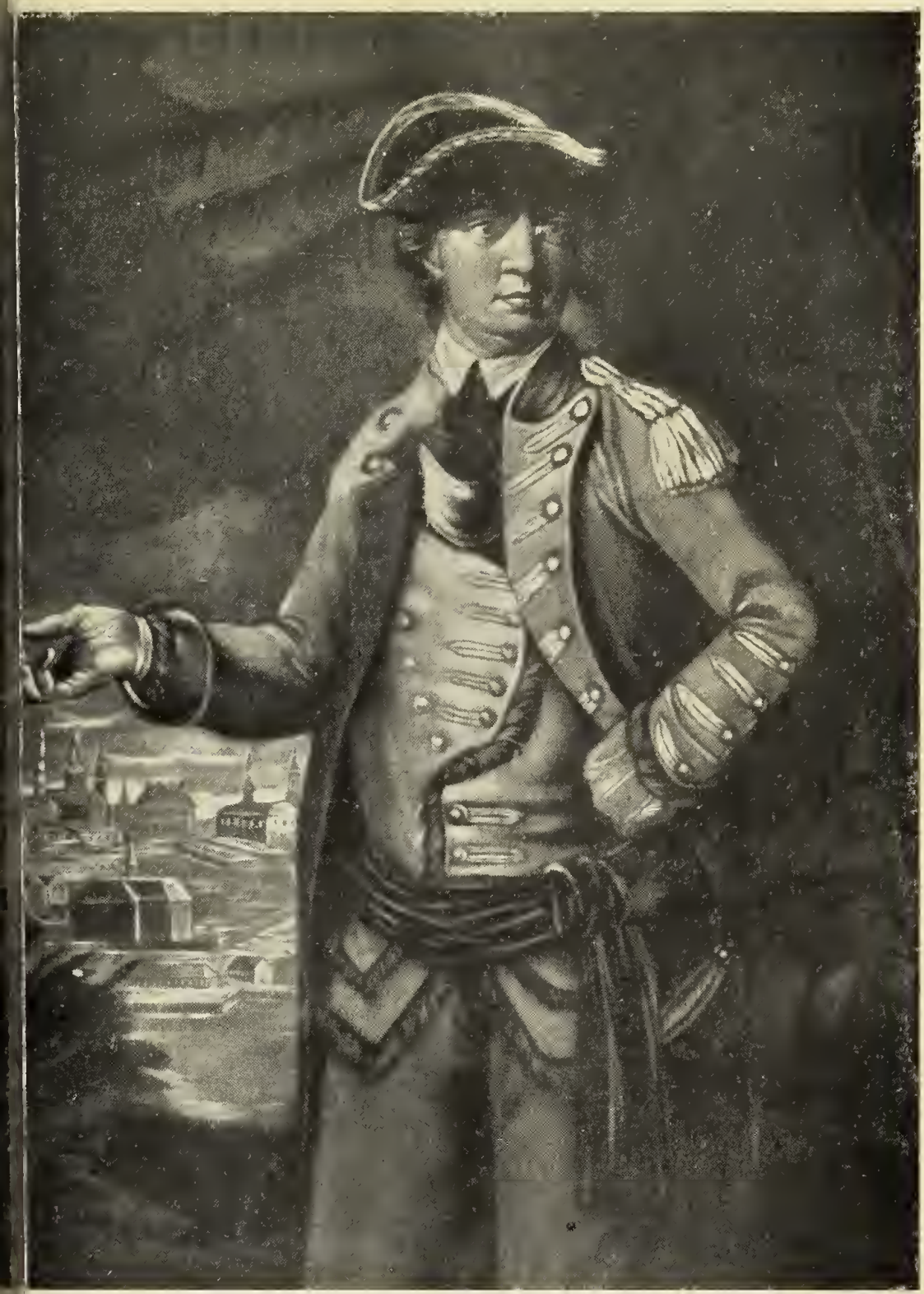
This was on the 6th of April, just befor Arnold was leaving in disgust. Wooster mad an effort to use his new artillery to advantag by converging the fire of three batteries, on close in on the Heights of Abraham, anothe from across the mouth of the St Charles, an the third from Levis. But the combinatio failed: the batteries were too light for th work and overmatched by the guns on th walls, the practice was bad, and the effect wa nil. On the 3rd of May the new genera Thomas, an enterprising man, tried a fireshi which was meant to destroy all the shippin in the Cul de Sac. It came on, under full sa in a very threatening manner. But the cre lost their nerve at the critical moment, too to the boats too soon, and forgot to lash th

n. The vessel immediately flew up into wind and, as the tidal stream was already nging, began to drift away from the Cul Sac just when she burst into flame. The lt, as described by an enthusiastic British ist, was that ' she affoard'd a very pritty spect while she was floating down the er, every now & then sending up Sky kets, firing of Cannon or bursting of Shells, o continued till She disappear'd in the nnell.'

hree days later, on the 6th of May, when beleaguerment had lasted precisely five ths, the sound of distant gunfire came tly up the St Lawrence with the first ath of the dawn wind from the east. The ries listened to make sure; then called sergeants of the guards, who sent word he officers on duty, who, in their turn, word to Carleton. By this time there ld be no mistake. The breeze was freshen- ; the sound was gradually nearing Quebec ; there could hardly be room for doubting t it came from the vanguard of the British t. The drums beat to arms, the church s rang, the news flew round to every house- l in Quebec ; and before the tops of the *prise* frigate were seen over the Point of

Levy every battery was fully manned, ev
battalion was standing ready on the Gr
Parade, and every non-combatant m
woman, and child was lining the seaward w
The regulation shot was fired across her b
as she neared the city; whereupon she fi
three guns to leeward, hoisted the priv
signal, and showed the Union Jack. Then
last, a cheer went up that told both friend a
foe of British victory and American defe
By a strange coincidence the parole for t
triumphal day was St George, while the pa
appointed for the victorious New Year's E
had been St Denis; so that the patron sai
of France and England happen to be ass
ated with the two great days on which
stronghold of Canada was saved by land a
sea.

The same tide brought in two other m
of-war. Some soldiers of the 29th, who w
on board the *Surprise*, were immediat
landed, together with the marines from
three vessels. Carleton called for volunte
from the militia to attack the Americans
once; and nearly every man, both of t
French- and of the English-speaking cor
stepped forward. There was joy in eve
heart that the day for striking back had co



BENEDICT ARNOLD

From an engraving in the John Ross Robertson Collection,
Toronto Public Library

ıst. The columns marched gaily through gates and deployed into line at the double he Heights outside. The Americans fired v hurried shots and then ran for dear life, ing their dinners cooking, and, in some s, even their arms behind them. The ns were covered with flying enemies and vn with every sort of impediment to flight, a cannon to a loaf of bread. Quebec been saved by British sea-power; and, it, the whole vast dominion of which it the key.

CHAPTER VI

DELIVERANCE

1776

THE Continental Congress had always b
anxious to have delegates from the Fourtee
Colony. But as these never came the C
gress finally decided to send a special co
mission to examine the whole civil a
military state of Canada and see what co
be done. The news of Montgomery's de
and defeat was a very unwelcome surpr
But reinforcements were being sent;
Canadians could surely be persuaded; an
Congressional commission must be able to
things right. This commission was a v
strong one. Benjamin Franklin was
chairman. Samuel Chase of Maryland
Charles Carroll of Carrollton were the ot
members. Carroll's brother, the future a
bishop of Baltimore, accompanied them a
sort of ecclesiastical diplomatist. Frankl
prestige and the fact that he was to set u

e' printing-press in Montreal were to work
nders with the educated classes at once and
h the uneducated masses later on. Chase
uld appeal to all the reasonable 'moder-
s.' Carroll, a great landlord and the
rest approach yet made to an American
ionaire, was expected to charm the Cana-
n noblesse; while the fact that he and his
eedingly diplomatic brother were devout
nan Catholics was thought to be by itself
owerful argument with the clergy.
When they reached St Johns towards the
of April the commissioners sent on a
rier to announce their arrival and prepare
their proper reception in Montreal. But
ferryman at Laprairie positively refused
ccept Continental paper money at any
e; and it was only when a 'Friend of
rty' gave him a dollar in silver that
consented to cross the courier over the
Lawrence. The same hitch occurred in
treal, where the same Friend of Liberty
to pay in silver before the cab-drivers
ented to accept a fare either from him or
n the commissioners. Even the name of
oll of Carrollton was conjured with in vain.
French Canadians remembered Bigot's
French paper. Their worst suspicions

were being confirmed about the equally b
American paper. So they demanded nothi
but hard cash — *argent dur*. However, t
first great obstacle had been successfully ov
come ; and so, on the strength of five borrow
silver dollars, the accredited commission
of the Continental Congress of the Thirte
Colonies made their state entry into what th
still hoped to call the Fourteenth Colo
But silver dollars were scarce ; and on the
of May the crestfallen commissioners had
send the Congress a financial report wh
may best be summed up in a pithy phr
which soon became proverbial—' Not wort
Continental.'

On the 10th of May they heard the b
news from Quebec and increased the pa
among their Montreal sympathizers by hast
leaving the city lest they should be cut
by a British man-of-war. Franklin fores
the end and left for Philadelphia accompan
by the Reverend John Carroll, whose twe
days of disheartening experience with
leading French-Canadian clergy had c
vinced him that they were impervious to a
arguments or blandishments emanating fr
the Continental Congress. It was a sad
illusionment for the commissioners, who

pected to be settling the affairs of a four-
nth colony instead of being obliged to leave
city from which they were to have en-
ntened the people with a free press. In
ir first angry ignorance they laid the whole
me on their unfortunate army for its 'dis-
ceful flight' from Quebec. A week later,
en Chase and Charles Carroll ought to have
own better, they were still assuring the
ngress that this 'shameful retreat' was
e principal cause of all the disorders' in
army; and even after the whole story
ght to have been understood neither they
the Congress gave their army its proper
e. But, as a matter of fact, the Ameri-
position had become untenable the mo-
nt the British fleet began to threaten
American line of communication with
ntreal. For the rest, the American volun-
rs, all things considered, had done very
l indeed. Arnold's march was a truly
gnificent feat. Morgan's men had fought
h great courage at the Sault-au-Matelot.
d though Montgomery's assault might well
ve been better planned and executed, we
st remember that the good plan, which had
n rejected, was the military one, while
bad plan, which had been adopted, was

concocted by mere politicians. Nor were '
the disorders ' so severely condemned by t
commissioners due to the army alone. F
from it, indeed. The root of ' all the d
orders ' lay in the fact that a makeshift gover
ment was obliged to use makeshift levies
an invasion which required a regular ar
supported by a fleet.

On the 19th of May another disaster ha
pened, this time above Montreal. The Co
gress had not felt strong enough to atta
the western posts. So Captain Forster of t
8th Foot, finding that he was free to go el
where, had come down from Oswegatch
(the modern Ogdensburg) with a hundr
whites and two hundred Indians and ma
prisoners of four hundred and thirty America
at the Cedars, about thirty miles up the
Lawrence from Montreal. Forster was
very good officer. Butterfield, the Americ
commander, was a very bad one. And th
made all the difference. After two days
feeble and misdirected defence Butterfi
surrendered three hundred and fifty m
The other eighty were reinforcements w
walked into the trap next day. Forster n
had four American prisoners for every wh
soldier of his own ; while Arnold was near

ring come up from Sorel to Lachine with a
ll but determined force. So Forster, care-
y pointing out to his prisoners their danger
he Indians should be reinforced and run
d, offered them their freedom on condi-
n that they should be regarded as being
hanged for an equal number of British
oners in American hands. This was
eed to and never made a matter of dispute
rwards. But the second article Butter-
d accepted was a stipulation that, while the
ased British were to be free to fight again,
released Americans were not; and it
over this point that a bitter controversy
ed. The British authorities maintained
t all the terms were binding because they
been accepted by an officer commissioned
the Congress. The Congress maintained
t the disputed article was obtained by an
air threat of an Indian massacre and that
vas so one-sided as to be good for nothing
repudiation.

The Affair at the Cedars' thus became a
ely vexed question. In itself it would have
d out among later and more important
es if it had not been used as a torch to fire
erican public opinion at a time when the
ngress was particularly anxious to make

the Thirteen Colonies as anti-British as p
sible. Most of Forster's men were India
He had reminded Butterfield how danger
an increasing number of Indians might
come. Butterfield was naturally anxious
prove that he had yielded only to overwhe
ing odds and horrifying risks. Americans
general were ready to believe anything
about the Indians and the British.
temptation and the opportunity seemed m
for each other. And so a quite imagin
Indian massacre conveniently appeared
the American news of the day and helped
form the kind of public opinion which
ardently desired by the party of revolt.

The British evidence in this and m
another embittering dispute about the Indi
need not be cited, since the following ite
of American evidence do ample justice
both sides. In the spring of 1775 the M
sachusetts Provincial Congress sent Sam
Kirkland to exhort the Iroquois 'to w
their hatchet and be prepared to defe
our liberties and lives'; while Ethan Al
asked the Indians round Vermont to tr
him 'like a brother and ambush the regula
In 1776 the Continental Congress secretly
solved 'that it is highly expedient to eng

e Indians in the service of the United olonies.' This was before the members iew about the Affair at the Cedars. A few ys later Washington was secretly author-ed to raise two thousand Indians; while ents were secretly sent 'to engage the Six ations in our Interest, on the best terms that n be procured.' Within three weeks of this cret arrangement the Declaration of Inde-ndence publicly accused the king of trying o bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers e merciless Indian savages.' Four days ter this public accusation the Congress gave ders for raising Indians along 'the Penob-ot, the St John, and in Nova Scotia'; and entry to that effect was made in its Secret urnal. Yet, before the month was out, the me Congress publicly appealed to 'The eople of Ireland' in the following words: The wild and barbarous savages of the ilderness have been solicited by gifts to take the hatchet against us, and instigated to luge our settlements with the blood of de-nceless women and children.'

The American defeats at Quebec and at the edars completely changed the position of the vo remaining commissioners. They had ex-ected to control a victorious advance. They

found themselves the highest authority prese
with a disastrous retreat. Thereupon the
made blunder after blunder. Public intere
and parliamentary control are the very li
of armies and navies in every country whi
enjoys the blessings of self-government. B
civilian interference is death. Yet Chase a
Carroll practically abolished rank in the di
integrating army by becoming an open cou
of appeal to every junior with a grievance
a plan. There never was an occasion on whi
military rule was more essential in milita
matters. Yet, though they candidly admitte
that they had 'neither abilities nor inclin
tion' to command, these wretched misrule
tried to do their duty both to the Congre
and the army by turning the camp into a so
of town meeting where the best orders ha
no chance whatever against the loudest 'sen
ments.' They had themselves found the ro
of all evil in the retreat from Quebec. The
army, like every impartial critic, found it
'the Commissioners and the smallpox'—wi
the commissioners easily first. The smallp
had been bad enough at Quebec. It beca
far worse at Sorel. There were few docto
fewer medicines, and not a single hospit
The reinforcements melted away with t

ny they were meant to strengthen. Famine eatened both, even in May. Finally the nmissioners left for home at the end of the nth. But even their departure could no ger make the army's burden light enough bear.

Thomas, the ex-apothecary, who did his st to stem the adverse tide of trouble, ught the smallpox, became blind, and died the beginning of June. Sullivan, the fourth nmander in less than half a year, having termined that one more effort should be de, arrived at Sorel with new battalions er innumerable difficulties by the way. was led to believe that Carleton's rein-cements had come from Nova Scotia, not m England; and this encouraged him to sh on farther. He was naturally of a very nguine temper; and Thompson, his second-command, heartily approved of the dash. e new troops cheered up and thought of king Quebec itself. But, after getting mis-l by their guide, floundering about in bottom-s bogs, and losing a great deal of very ecious time, they found Three Rivers de-ded by entrenchments, superior numbers, d the vanguard of the British fleet. Never-eless they attacked bravely on the 8th of

June. But, taken in front and flank by we drilled regulars and well-handled men-of-w they presently broke and fled. Every aven of escape was closed as they wandered abo the woods and bogs. But Carleton, who ca up from Quebec after the battle was all ov purposely opened the way to Sorel. He h done his best to win the hearts of his prison at Quebec and had succeeded so well th when they returned to Crown Point they w kept away from the rest of the Americ army lest their account of his kindn should affect its anti-British zeal. Now th he was in overwhelming force he thoug he saw an even better chance of earni gratitude from rebels and winning conve to the loyal side by a still greater act clemency.

The battle of Three Rivers was the l action fought on Canadian soil. The Americ army retreated to Sorel and up the Richel to St Johns, where it was joined by Arno who had just evacuated Montreal. Most the Friends of Liberty in Canada fled eit with or before their beaten forces. So, l the ebbing of a whole river system, t main and tributary streams of fugitives dr south towards Lake Champlain. The neut

nch Canadians turned against them at
e; though not to the extent of making an
ual attack. The habitant cared nothing
the incomprehensible constitutionalities
r which different kinds of British foreigners
e fighting their exasperating civil war.
t he did know what the king's big fleet and
ny meant. He did begin to feel that his
n ways of life were safer with the loyal
n with the rebel side. And he quite under-
od that he had been forced to give a good
l for nothing ever since the American
nmissioners had authorized their famishing
ny to commandeer his supplies and pay
n with their worthless 'Continentals.'

From St Johns the worn-out Americans
wled homewards in stray, exhausted parties,
pping fast by the way as they went. 'I
not look into a hut or a tent,' wrote a
rified observer, 'in which I did not find a
d or dying man.' Disorganization became
complete that no exact returns were ever
de up. But it is known that over ten
usand armed men crossed into Canada from
t to last and that not far short of half this
al either found their death beyond the
e or brought it back with them to Lake
amplain.

It was on what long afterwards becam Dominion Day—the 1st of July—that th ruined American forces reassembled at Crow Point, having abandoned all hope of makin Canada the Fourteenth Colony. Three day later the disappointed Thirteen issued th Declaration of Independence which virtuall proclaimed that Canadians and American should thenceforth live a separate life.

CHAPTER VII

THE COUNTERSTROKE

1776-1778

thousand British troops, commanded by rgoyne, and four thousand Germans, com-nded by Baron Riedesel, had arrived at ebec before the battle of Three Rivers. ebec itself had then been left to the care a German garrison under a German com-ndant, ' that excellent man, Colonel Baum,' ile the great bulk of the army had marched the St Lawrence, as we have seen already. ch a force as this new one of Carleton's was pected to dismay the rebel colonies. And to a great extent, it did. With a much ger force in the colonies themselves the king s confidently expected to master his unruly jects, no matter how much they proclaimed ir independence. The Loyalists were en-raged. The trimmers prepared to join m. Only those steadfast Americans who d their cause dearer than life itself were still

determined to venture all. But they forme the one party that really knew its own min This gave them a great advantage over th king's party, which, hampered at every tur by the opposition in the mother country, wa never quite sure whether it ought to strik hard or gently in America.

On one point, however, everybody wa agreed. The command of Lake Champlai was essential to whichever side would hold i own. The American forces at Crown Poi might be too weak for the time being. Bu Arnold knew that even ten thousand Britis soldiers could not overrun the land withou a naval force to help them. So he got t gether a flotilla which had everything its ow way during the time that Carleton wa laboriously building a rival flotilla on th Richelieu with a very scanty supply of shi wrights and materials. Arnold, moreove could devote his whole attention to the wor makeshift as it had to be ; while Carleton wa obliged to keep moving about the provinc in an effort to bring it into some sort order after the late invasion. Throughout th summer the British army held the line of th Richelieu all the way south as far as Isle-au Noix, very near the lake and the line. Bu

arleton's flotilla could not set sail from St hns till October 5, by which time the main dy of his army was concentrated round inte-au-Fer, at the northern end of the lake, nety miles north of the American camp at own Point.

It was a curious situation for a civil and ilitary governor to be hoisting his flag as a val commander-in-chief, however small the et might be. But it is commonly ignored at, down to the present day, the governor-neral of Canada is appointed 'Vice-Admiral the Same' in his commissions from the own. Carleton of course carried expert val officers with him and had enough pro-sional seamen to work the vessels and the guns. But, though Captain Pringle anœuvred the flotilla and Lieutenant Dacre ndled the flagship *Carleton*, the actual mmand remained in Carleton's own hands. e capital ship (and the only real square-ged 'ship') of this Lilliputian fleet was ingle's *Inflexible*, which had been taken up e Richelieu in sections and hauled past the rtages with immense labour before reaching Johns, whence there is a clear run upstream Lake Champlain. The *Inflexible* carried irty guns, mostly 12-pounders, and was an

overmatch for quite the half of Arnold' decidedly weaker flotilla. The *Lady Mari* was a sort of sister ship to the *Carleton*. Th little armada was completed by a 'gondola with six 9-pounders, by twenty gunboats an four longboats, each carrying a single piece and by many small craft used as transports.

On the 11th of October Carleton's whol naval force was sailing south when one o Arnold's vessels was seen making for Valcou Island, a few miles still farther south on th same, or western, side of Lake Champlain Presently the Yankee ran ashore on th southern end of the island, where she wa immediately attacked by some British sma craft while the *Inflexible* sailed on. Then, t the intense disgust of the *Inflexible's* crew Arnold's complete flotilla was suddenly dis covered drawn up in a masterly position be tween the mainland and the island. It wa too late for the *Inflexible* to beat back now But the rest of Carleton's flotilla turned in t the attack. Arnold's flanks rested on th island and the mainland. His rear could b approached only by beating back against bad wind all the way round the outside o Valcour Island; and, even if this manœuvr could have been performed, the British attac

his rear from the north could have been
le only in a piecemeal way, because the
nnel was there at its narrowest, with a bad
truction in the middle. So, for every
on, a frontal attack from the south was
one way of closing with him. The fight
furious while it lasted and seemingly
sive when it ended. Arnold's best vessel,
Royal Savage, which he had taken at St
ns the year before, was driven ashore and
ured. The others were so severely mauled
when the victorious British anchored
r superior force in line across Arnold's
t there seemed to be no chance for him
scape the following day. But that night
performed an even more daring and
derful feat than Bouchette had performed
year before when paddling Carleton
ugh the American lines among the islands
site Sorel. Using muffled sweeps, with
ummate skill he slipped all his remaining
els between the mainland and the nearest
sh gunboat, and was well on his way to
n Point before his escape had been dis-
red. Next day Carleton chased south.
day after he destroyed the whole of the
ny's miniature sea-power as a fighting
. But the only three serviceable vessels

got away ; while Arnold burnt everything
likely to fall into British hands. So Carle
had no more than his own reduced flotilla
depend on when he occupied Crown Point

A vexed question, destined to form part
momentous issue, now arose. Should Tic
deroga be attacked at once or not ? It c
manded the only feasible line of march fr
Montreal to New York ; and no force fr
Canada could therefore attack the new
public effectively without taking it first.
the season was late. The fort was stro
well gunned, and well manned. Carlet
reconnaissance convinced him that he co
have little chance of reducing it quickly, i
all, with the means at hand, especially as
Americans had supplies close by at L
George, while he was now a hundred m
south of his base. A winter siege was
possible. Sufficient supplies could never
brought through the dense, snow-encumbe
bush, all the way from Canada, even if
long and harassing line of communicat
had not been everywhere open to Amer
attack. Moreover, Carleton's army was
no way prepared for a midwinter campa
even if it could have been supplied with
and warlike stores. So he very sens

ned his back on Lake Champlain until the owing year.

That was the gayest winter Quebec had seen ce Montcalm's first season, twenty years ore. Carleton had been knighted for his vices and was naturally supposed to be the sen leader for the next campaign. The thousand troops gave confidence to the alists and promised success for the coming npaign. The clergy were getting their dis- sioned parishioners back to the fold be- th the Union Jack; while *Jean Ba'tis'e* nself was fain to admit that his own ways ife and the money he got for his goods were y much safer with *les Angla's* than with the olutionists, whom he called *les Bastonna's* ause most trade between Quebec and the irteen Colonies was carried on by vessels ling from the port of Boston. The sei- urs were delighted. They still hoped for nmissions as regulars, which too few of them r received; and they were charmed with little viceregal court over which Lady ria Carleton, despite her youthful two-and- nty summers, presided with a dignity in- ited from the premier ducal family of gland and brought to the acme of con-

ventional perfection by her intimate expe
ence of Versailles. On New Year's E
Carleton gave a public fête, a state dinner, a
a ball to celebrate the anniversary of t
British victory over Montgomery and Arno
The bishop held a special thanksgiving a
made all notorious renegades do open penan
Nothing seemed wanting to bring the N
Year in under the happiest auspices si
British rule began.

But, quite unknown to Carleton, misch
was brewing in the Colonial Office of that
happy government which did so many stu
things and got the credit for so many mo
In 1775 the well-meaning Earl of Dartmou
was superseded by Lord George Germain, w
continued the mismanagement of colon
affairs for seven disastrous years. Few ch
acters have abused civil and military positi
more than the man who first, as a Brit
general, disgraced the noble name of Sackv
on the battlefield of Minden in 1759, and th
as a cabinet minister, disgraced through
America the plebeian one of Germain, wh
he took in 1770 with a suitable legacy attach
to it. His crime at Minden was set down
the thoughtless public to sheer coward
But Sackville was no coward. He had bo

imself with conspicuous gallantry at Fonte-
oy. He was admired, before Minden, by
wo very brave soldiers, Wolfe and the Duke
f Cumberland. And he afterwards fought a
amous duel with as much sang-froid as any
ne would care to see. His real crime at
Minden was admirably exposed by the court-
nartial which found him 'guilty of having
isobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand of
Brunswick, whom he was by his commission
ound to obey as commander-in-chief, accord-
ng to the rules of war.' This court also found
im 'unfit to serve his Majesty in any military
apacity whatever'; and George II directed
hat the following 'remarks' should be added
when the sentence was read out on parade to
very regiment in the service: 'It is his
Majesty's pleasure that the above sentence be
iven out in public orders, not only in Britain,
ut in America, and in every quarter of the
lobe where British troops happen to be, so
hat all officers, being convinced that neither
igh birth nor great employments can shelter
ffences of such a nature, and seeing they are
ubject to censures worse than death to a
nan who has any sense of honour, may avoid
he fatal consequences arising from disobedi-
nce of orders.'

This seemed to mark the end of Sackville's sinister career. But when George II died and George III began to reign, with a very different set of men to help him, the bad general reappeared as an equally bad politician. Haughty, cantankerous, and self-opinionated to the last degree, Germain, who had many perverse abilities fitting him for the meaner side of party politics, was appointed to the post for which he was least qualified just when Canada and the Thirteen Colonies most needed a master mind. Worse still, he cherished a contemptible grudge against Carleton for having refused to turn out a good officer and put in a bad one who happened to be a pampered favourite. At first, however, Carleton was allowed to do his best. But in the summer of 1776 Germain restricted Carleton's command to Canada and put Burgoyne, a junior officer, in command of the army destined to make the counterstroke. The ship bearing this malicious order had to put back; so it was not till the middle of May 1777 that Carleton was disillusioned by its arrival as well as by a second and still more exasperating dispatch accusing him of neglect of duty for not having taken Ticonderoga in November and thus prevented Washington

om capturing the Hessians at Trenton. The ysical impossibility of a winter siege, the ree hundred miles of hostile country be- een Trenton and Ticonderoga, and the fact at the other leading British general, Howe, d thirty thousand troops in the Colonies, ile Carleton had only ten thousand with ich to hold Canada that year and act as dered next year, all went for nothing when rmain found a chance to give a good stab the back.

On May 20 Carleton wrote a pungent reply, inting out the utter impossibility of follow- g up his victory on Lake Champlain by rrying out Germain's arm-chair plan of erations in the middle of winter. 'I regard as a particular blessing that your Lordship's spatch did not arrive in due time.' As for e disaster at Trenton, he 'begs to inform his rdship' that if Howe's thirty thousand en had been properly used the Hessians uld never have been taken, 'though all the bels from Ticonderoga had reinforced Mr ashington's army.' Moreover, 'I never uld imagine why, if troops so far south [as owe's] found it necessary to go into winter arters, your Lordship could possibly expect ops so far north to continue their opera-

tions.' A week later Carleton wrote aga and sent in his resignation. 'Finding that can no longer be of use, under your Lordshi administration . . . I flatter myself I sh obtain the king's permission to return hor this fall. . . . I shall embark with gre satisfaction, still entertaining the ardent wi that, after my departure, the dignity of t Crown in this unfortunate Province may n appear beneath your Lordship's concern.'

Burgoyne had spent the winter in Lond and had arrived at Quebec about the sam time as Germain's dispatches. He had loyal represented Carleton's plans at headquarter But he did not know America and he was n great enough to see the weak points in t plan which Germain proposed to carry o with wholly inadequate means.

There was nothing wrong with the actu idea of this plan. Washington, Carleton, a every other leading man on either side sa perfectly well that the British army oug to cut the rebels in two by holding the dire line from Montreal to New York throughc the coming campaign of 1777. Given t irresistible British command of the sea, fif thousand troops were enough. The gener idea was that half of these should hold t

our-hundred-mile line of the Richelieu, Lake hamplain, and the Hudson, while the other alf seized strategic points elsewhere and still urther divided the American forces. But he troops employed were ten thousand short f the proper number. Many of them were oreign mercenaries. And the generals were ot the men to smash the enemy at all costs. hey were ready to do their duty. But their ffinities were rather with the opposition, hich was against the war, than with the overnment, which was for it. Howe was a rong Whig. Burgoyne became a follower f Fox. Clinton had many Whig connections. ornwallis voted against colonial taxation. o make matters worse, the government itself avered between out-and-out war and some ort of compromise both with its political pponents at home and its armed opponents in merica.

Under these circumstances Carleton was n favour of a modified plan. Ticonderoga ad been abandoned by the Americans and ccupied by the British as Burgoyne marched outh. Carleton's idea was to use it as a base f operations against New England, while Howe's main body struck at the main body of he rebels and broke them up as much as

possible. Germain, however, was all for the original plan. So Burgoyne set off for the Hudson, expecting to get into touch with Howe at Albany. But Germain, in his haste to leave town for a holiday, forgot to sign Howe's orders at the proper time; and afterwards forgot them altogether. So Howe, pro-American in politics and temporizer in the field, manœuvred round his own headquarters at New York until October, when he sailed south to Philadelphia. Receiving no orders from Germain, and having no initiative of his own, he had made no attempt to hold the line of the Hudson all the way north to Albany where he could have met Burgoyne and completed the union of the forces which would have cut the Colonies in two. Meanwhile Burgoyne, ignorant of Germain's neglect and Howe's futilities, was struggling to his fate at Saratoga, north of Albany. He had been receiving constant aid from Carleton's scant resources, though Carleton knew full well that the sending of any aid beyond the limits of the province exposed him to personal ruin in case of a reverse in Canada. But it was all in vain; and, on the 17th of October Burgoyne—much more sinned against than sinning—laid down his arms. The British

garrison immediately evacuated Ticonderoga and retired to St Johns, thus making Carleton's position fairly safe in Canada. But Germain, only too glad to oust him, had now notified him that Haldimand, the new governor, was on the point of sailing for Quebec. Haldimand, to his great credit, had asked to have his own appointment cancelled when he heard of Germain's shameful attitude towards Carleton, and had only consented to go after being satisfied that Carleton really wished to come home. The exchange, however, was not to take place that year. Contrary winds blew Haldimand back; and so Canada had to remain under the best of all possible governors in spite of Germain.

Germain had provoked Carleton past endurance both by his public blunders and by his private malice. Even in 1776 there was hate on one side, contempt on the other. When Germain had blamed Carleton for not carrying out the idiotic winter siege of Ticonderoga, Carleton, in his official reply, 'could only suppose' that His Lordship had acted in other places with such great wisdom that, without our assistance, the rebels must immediately be compelled to lay down their arms and implore the King's mercy.' After

that Germain had murder in his heart to the bitter end of Carleton's rule. Carleton had frequently reported the critical state of affairs in Canada. 'There is nothing to fear from the Canadians so long as things are in a state of prosperity; nothing to hope from them when in distress. There are some of them who are guided by sentiments of honour. The multitude is influenced by hope of gain or fear of punishment.' The recent invasion had proved this up to the hilt. Then a welcome reaction began. The defeat of the invaders, the arrival of Burgoyne's army, and the efforts of the seigneurs and the clergy had considerably brightened the prospects of the British cause in Canada. The partial mobilization of the militia which followed Burgoyne's surrender was not, indeed, a great success. But it was far better than the fiasco of two years before. There was also a corresponding improvement in civil life. The judges whom Carleton had been obliged to appoint in haste all proved at leisure the wisdom of his choice; and there seemed to be every chance that other nominees would be equally fit for their positions, because the Quebec Act, which annulled every appointment made before it came into force, opened

way for the exclusion of bad officials and inclusion of the good.

But the chance of perverting this excellent ention was too much for Germain, who suc-ded in foisting one worthless nominee after other on the province just as Carleton was ng his best to heal old sores. One of the rst cases was that of Livius, a low-down, ney-grubbing German Portuguese, who ted the future Master of the Rolls, Sir lliam Grant, a man most admirably fitted interpret the laws of Canada with know-ge, sympathy, and absolute impartiality. ius as chief justice was more than Carleton ld stand in silence. This mongrel lawyer l picked up all the Yankee vices without uiring any of the countervailing Yankee tues. He was 'greedy of power, more edy of gain, imperious and impetuous in temper, but learned in the ways and quence of the New England provinces, and uing himself particularly on his knowledge how to manage governors.' He had been t by Germain 'to administer justice to the adians when he understands neither their s, manners, customs, nor language.' Other nominees followed, 'characters regardless the public tranquility but zealous to pay

court to a powerful minister and—provid
they can obtain advantages—unconcern
should the means of obtaining them pro
ruinous to the King's service.' These pet
foggers so turned and twisted the law abo
for the sake of screwing out the maximum
fees that Carleton pointedly refused to appo
Livius as a member of the Legislative Coun
Livius then laid his case before the Pri
Council in England. But this great court
ultimate appeal pronounced such a damni
judgment on his gross pretensions that ev
Germain could not prevent his final dismis
from all employment under the Crown.

Wounded in the house of those who sho
have been his friends, thwarted in ev
measure of his self-sacrificing rule, Carle
served on devotedly through six weary mon
of 1778—the year in which a vindict
government of Bourbon France became
first of the several foreign enemies who ma
the new American republic an accomplish
fact by taking sides in a British civil w
His burden was now far more than any m
could bear. Yet he closed his answer
Germain's parting shot with words which
as noble as his deeds:

I have long looked out for the arrival of a
cessor. Happy at last to learn his near
roach, I resign the important commands
n which I have been entrusted into hands
obnoxious to your Lordship. Thus, for
King's service, as willingly I lay them
n as, for his service, I took them up.'

CHAPTER VIII

GUARDING THE LOYALISTS

1782-1783

BURGOYNE'S surrender marked the turn of the tide against the British arms. T the three campaigns of purely civil war, gun in 1775, had reached no decisive re True also that the Independence declare 1776 had no apparent chance of becomin accomplished fact. But 1777 was the year for all that. The long political stri England, the gross mismanagement of col affairs under Germain, and the sham blunders that made Saratoga possible combined to encourage foreign powers take the field against the king's incompe and distracted ministry. France, Spain, Holland joined the Americans in arms; Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and the German seaboard countries formed Armed Neutrality of the North. This stupendous odds—no less than ten to

rst of the ten came the political opposition
home, which, in regard to the American
bellion itself, was at least equal to the most
werful enemy abroad. Next came the four
emies in arms: the American rebels, France,
ain, and Holland. Finally came the five
ned neutrals, all ready to use their navies
the slightest provocation.

From this it may be seen that not one-half,
rhaps not a quarter, of all the various forces
at won the Revolutionary war were purely
nerican. Nor were the Americans and their
es together victorious over the mother
intry, but only over one sorely hampered
rty in it. Yet, from the nature of the case,
Americans got much more than the lion's
re of the spoils, while, even in their own
s, they seemed to have gained honour and
ry in the same proportion. The last real
npaign was fought in 1781 and ended with
British surrender at Yorktown. From
t time on peace was in the air. The un-
tunate ministry, now on the eve of political
eat at home, were sick of civil war and only
anxious for a chance of uniting all parties
inst the foreign foes. But they had first
settle with the Americans, who had con-
ered themselves an independent sovereign

power for the last five years and who were d
termined to make the most of England's dif
culties. No darker New Year's Day had ev
dawned on any cabinet than that of 1782 o
North's. In spite of his change from r
pression to conciliation, and in spite of di
missing Germain to the House of Lords wi
an ill-earned peerage, Lord North found h
majority dwindling away. At last, on t
20th of March, he resigned.

Meanwhile every real statesman in eith
party had felt that the crisis required t
master-hand of Carleton. With Germain, t
empire-wrecker, gone, Carleton would doub
less have served under any cabinet, for
government could have done without hi
But his actual commission came through t
Rockingham administration on the 4th
April. After three quiet years of retireme
at his country seat in Hampshire he was aga
called upon to face a situation of extre
difficulty. For once, with a wisdom ra
enough in any age and almost unknown
that one, the government gave him a free ha
and almost unlimited powers. The only qu
tions over which he had no final power w
those of making treaties. He was appoint
'General and Commander-in-chief of all

Majesty's forces within the Colonies lying in the Atlantic Ocean, from Nova Scotia to the Floridas, and inclusive of Newfoundland and Canada should they be attacked.' He was also appointed commissioner for executing the terms of any treaty that might be made; and his instructions contained two passages which bore eloquent witness to the universal confidence reposed in him. 'It is impossible to judge of the precise situation at so great a distance' and 'His Majesty's affairs are so situated that further deliberations give way to instant decision. We are satisfied that whatever inconveniences may arise they will be compensated by the presence of a commander-in-chief of whose discretion, conduct, and ability His Majesty has long entertained the highest opinion.' Thus the great justifier of British rule beyond the seas arrived in New York on the 9th of May 1782 with at least some hope of reconciling enough Americans to turn the scale before it was too late.

For three months the prospect, though worse than he had anticipated, did not seem utterly hopeless. It had been considerably brightened by Rodney's great victory over the French fleet which was on its way to attack Jamaica. But an unfortunate in-

cident happened to be exasperating Loyalis and revolutionists at this very time. Som revolutionists had killed a Loyalist name Philip White, apparently out of pure hat Some Loyalists, under Captain Lippincot then seized and hanged Joshua Huddy, captain in the Congress militia, out of she revenge. A paper left pinned on Huddy breast bore the inscription: 'Up goes Hudd for Philip White.' Washington then d manded that Lippincott should be deliver up; and, on Carleton's refusal, chose British prisoner by lot instead. The lot f on a young Lieutenant Asgill of the Guard whose mother appealed to the king and que of France and to their powerful minist Vergennes. The American Congress want blood for blood, which would have led to endless vendetta. But Vergennes point out that Asgill, a youth of nineteen, was much a prisoner of the king of France as of t Continental Congress. At this the Congre gnashed its teeth, but had to give way.

While the Asgill affair was still running course, and embittering Loyalists and rebe more than ever, Carleton was suddenly i formed that the government had decided grant complete independence. This was mo

n he could stand ; and he at once asked to recalled. He had been all for honourable onciliation from the first. He had been ticularly kind to his American prisoners in ada and had purposely refrained from ihilating the American army after the tle of Three Rivers. But he was not pre- ed for independence. Nor had he been t out with this ostensible object in view. official instructions were to inform the ericans that ' the most liberal sentiments taken root in the nation, and that the row policy of monopoly was totally ex- uished.' Now he was called upon to sur- der without having tried either his arms is diplomacy. With British sea-power be- ning to reassert its age-long superiority r all possible rivals, with practically all con- itional points of dispute conceded to the olutionists, and with the certain knowledge by no means the majority of all Americans e absolute anti-British out-and-outers, he ught it no time to dismember the Empire. Intelligence Department had been busily ecting information which seems surprising ugh as we read it over to-day, but which based on the solid facts of that unhappy e. One member of the Continental Con-

gress was anxious to know what would come of the American army if reconciliat should be effected on the understanding t there would be no more imperial taxation customs duty—would it become part of Imperial Army, or what ?

But speculation on all such contingen was suddenly cut short by the complete cha of policy at home. The idea was to end civil war that had divided the Empire and concentrate on the foreign war that at le united the people of Great Britain. matter at what cost this policy had now to carried out ; and Carleton was the only n that every one would trust to do it. sacrificing his own feelings and convictio he made the best of an exceedingly bad b ness. He had to safeguard the prisoners Loyalists while preparing to evacuate the remaining footholds of British power in face of an implacable foe. At the same t he had to watch every other point in No America and keep in touch with his excell naval colleague, Admiral Digby, lest his c rear might be attacked by the three fore enemies of England. He was even orde off to the West Indies in the autumn. counter-orders fortunately arrived before

ould start. Thus, surrounded by enemies in ront and rear and on both flanks, he spent the even months between August and the follow- ng March.

At the end of March 1783 news arrived that he preliminary treaty of peace had been igned. The final treaty was not signed till his ifty-ninth birthday, the 3rd of the following eptember. The signature of the prelimin- ries simplified the naval and military situa- ion. But it made the situation of the oyalists worse than ever. Compared with hem the prisoners of war had been most ighly favoured from the first. And yet the British prisoners had little to thank the Congress for. That they were badly fed and adly housed was not always the fault of the Americans. But that political favourites and nderlings were allowed to prey on them was n inexcusable disgrace. When a prisoner omplained, he was told it was the fault of the British government which would not pay for is keep! This answer, so contrary to all the ccepted usages of war, which reserve such ayments till after the conclusion of peace, as no empty gibe; for when, some time efore the preliminaries had been signed, the British and American commissioners met to

effect an exchange of prisoners, the American began by claiming the immediate payment o what the British prisoners had cost them This of course broke up the meeting at once In the meantime the German prisoners in British pay were offered their freedom a eighty dollars a head. Then farmers came forward to buy up these prisoners at this price But the farmers found competitors in the re cruiting sergeants, who urged the Germans with only too much truth, not to become ' the slaves of farmers ' but to follow ' the glorious trade of war ' against their employers, the British government. To their honour be it said, these Germans kept faith with the British much to the surprise of the Americans, who like many modern writers, could not under stand that these foreign mercenaries took a professional pride in carrying out a sworn contract, even when it would pay them better to break it. The British prisoners were not put up for sale in the same way. But money sent to them had a habit of disappearing on the road—one item mentioned by Carleton amounted to six thousand pounds.

If such was the happy lot of prisoners during the war, what was the wretched lot of Loyalists after the treaty of peace ? The words of one

the many petitions sent in to Carleton will ggest the answer. 'If we have to encounter s inexpressible misfortune we beg considera- n for our lives, fortunes, and property, *and t by mere terms of treaty.*' What this means nnot be appreciated unless we fully realize w strong the spirit of hate and greed had wn, and why it had grown so strong.

The American Revolution had not been pro- ked by oppression, violence, and massacre. e 'chains and slavery' of revolutionary tors was only a figure of speech. The l causes were constitutional and personal; d the actual crux of the question was one payment for defence. Of course there re many other causes at work. The social, igious, and political grudges with which so ny emigrants had left the mother country d not been forgotten and were now re- ved. Commercial restrictions, however well ey agreed with the spirit of the age, were lling to such keen traders. And the mere ference between colonies and motherland d produced misunderstandings on both es. But the main provocative cause was perial taxation for local defence. The irteen Colonies could not have held their n by land or sea, much less could they

have conquered their French rivals, witho the Imperial forces, which, indeed, had do by far the greater part of the fighti How was the cost to be shared betwe the mother country and themselves? T colonies had not been asked to pay m than their share. The point was whet they could be taxed at all by the Imper government when they had no representati in the Imperial parliament. The governme said Yes. The colonies and the opposition home said No. As the colonies would r pay of their own accord, and as the gove ment did not see why they should be parasi on the armed strength of the mother count parliament proceeded to tax them. Th then refused to pay under compulsion; a a complete deadlock ensued.

The personal factors in this perhaps soluble problem were still more refract than the constitutional. All the great qu tions of peace and war and other foreign lations were settled by the mother count which was the only sovereign power and wh alone possessed the force to make any Brit rights respected. The Americans suppl subordinate means and so became subordin men when they and the Imperial forces work

gether. This, to use a homely phrase, ade their leaders feel out of it. Everything at breeds trouble between militiamen and gulars, colonials and mother-countrymen, ned the flame of colonial resentment till e leaders were able to set their followers on e. It was a leaders' rebellion: there was maddening cruelty or even oppression such those which have produced so many re-lutions elsewhere. It was a leaders' victory: ere was no general feeling that death or in-pendence were the only alternatives from the st. But as the fight went on, and Loyalists d revolutionists grew more and more bitter wards one another, the revolutionary fol-wers found the same cause for hating the yalists as their leaders had found for hating e government. Many of the Loyalists be-nged to the well-educated and well-to-do sses. So the envy and greed of the revolu-nary followers were added to the personal d political rage of their leaders.

The British government had done its best r the Loyalists in the treaty of peace and d urged Carleton, who needed no urging in ch a cause, to do his best as well. But the eaty was made with the Congress; and the ngress had no authority over the internal

affairs of the thirteen new states, each o of which could do as it liked with its ow envied and detested Loyalists. The revol tionists wanted some tangible spoils. Th safety of peace had made the trimme equally 'patriotic' and equally clamorou So the confiscation of Loyalist property soo became the order of the day.

It was not the custom of that age to co fiscate private property simply because th owners were on the losing side, still less t confiscate it under local instead of nation authority. But need, greed, and resentmen were stronger than any scruples. Need wa the weakest, resentment the strongest of a the animating motives. The American arm was in rags and its pay greatly in arrears whi the British forces under Carleton were fe clothed, and paid in the regular way. Bu it was the passionate resentment of the re volutionists that perverted this exasperatin difference into another 'intolerable wrong Washington was above such meaner measure But when he said the Loyalists were only fi for suicide, and when Adams, another futur president, said they ought to be hanged, it i little wonder that lesser men thought the tim had come for legal looting. Those Loyalist

ho best understood the temper of their late llow-countrymen left at once. They were ght. Even to be a woman was no protec- on against confiscation in the case of Mary hillips, sister-in-law to Beverley Robinson, well-known Loyalist who settled in New runswick after the Revolution. Her case as not nearly so hard as many another. ut her historic love-affair makes it the most mantic. Eight-and-twenty years before is General Braddock had marched to death id defeat beside the Monongahela with two ndsome and gallant young aides-de-camp, ashington and Morris. Both fell in love ith bewitching Mary Phillips. But, while ashington left her fancy-free, Morris won r heart and hand. Now that the strife was longer against a foreign foe but between vo British parties, the former aides-de-camp und themselves rivals in arms as well as ve; for Colonel Morris was Carleton's right- nd man in all that concerned the Loyalists, ing the official head of the department of laims and Succour.

Morris, Morgan, and Carleton were the three siest men in New York. Forty thick manu- ript volumes still show Maurice Morgan's siduous work as Carleton's confidential

secretary. But Morris had the more heart-breaking duty of the three, with no relief, day after sorrow-laden day, from the anguishing appeals of Loyalist widows, orphans, and other ruined refugees. No sooner had the dire news arrived that peace had been made with the Congress, and that each of the thirteen United States was free to show uncovenanted mercies towards its own Loyalists than the exodus began. Five thousand five hundred and ninety-three Loyalists sailed for Halifax in the first convoy on the 17th of April with a strong recommendation from Carleton to Governor Parr of Nova Scotia. 'Many of these are of the first families and born to the fairest possessions. I therefore beg that you will have them properly considered.' Shipping was scarce; for the hostility of the whole foreign naval world had made enormous demands on the British navy and mercantile marine. So six thousand Loyalists had to march overland to join Carleton's vessels at New York, some of them from as far south as Charlottesville, Virginia. They were carefully shepherded by Colonel Alured Clarke, of whom we shall hear again.

Meanwhile Carleton and Washington had exchanged the usual compliments on the con-

sion of peace and had met each other on
e 6th of May at Tappan, where they dis-
ssed the exchange of prisoners. By the
ms of the treaty the British were to evacu-
New York, their last foothold in the new
ublic, with all practicable dispatch; so,
summer changed into autumn, the Congress
ame more and more impatient to see the
of them. But Carleton would not go
hout the Loyalists, whose many tributary
eams of misery were still flowing into New
rk. In September, when the treaty of
ce was ratified in Europe, the Congress
ed Carleton point-blank to name the date
his own departure. But he replied that
was impossible and that the more the
alists were persecuted the longer he would
obliged to stay. The correspondence be-
en him and the Congress teems with com-
nts and explanations. The Americans
e very anxious lest the Loyalists should
e away any goods and chattels not their
, particularly slaves. Carleton was dis-
ed to consider slaves as human beings,
ugh slavery was still the law in the British
rsea dominions, and so the Americans felt
asy lest he might discriminate between
r slaves and other chattels. Reams of the

Carleton papers are covered with descripti
lists of claimed and counter-claimed niggers
Julius Cæsars, Jupiters, Venuses, Dianas, a
so on, who were either ' stout wenches ' a
' likely fellows ' or ' incurably lazy ' and '
worn-outs.'

Perhaps, when a slave wished to rema
British, and his case was nicely balanced
tween the claimants and the counter-claiman
Carleton was a little inclined to give him t
benefit of the doubt. But with other for
of disputed property he was too severe
please all Loyalists. A typical case of res
tution in Canada will show how differen
the two governments viewed the rights
private property. Mercier and Halsted, t
Quebec rebels, owned a wharf and the frame
a warehouse in 1775. It was Arnold's int
cepted letter to Mercier that gave Carleto
lieutenant, Cramahé, the first warning
danger from the south. Halsted was Ma
Caldwell's miller at the time and took adv
tage of his position to give his employe
flour to Arnold's army, in which he served
commissary throughout the siege. Just af
the peace of 1783 Mercier and Halsted l
claim to their former property, which they h
abandoned for eight years and on which

vernment had meanwhile built a provision
re, making use of the original frame. The
e was complicated by many details too long
notice here. But the British govern-
nt finally gave the two rebels the original
perty, plus thirteen years' rent, less the
t of government works erected in the
antime. All the documents are still in
ebec.

Property was troublesome enough. But
ple were worse. And Carleton's diffi-
ties increased as the autumn wore on. The
t great harrying of the Loyalists drove
re than thirty thousand from their homes;
l about twenty-five thousand of these em-
ked at New York. Then there were the
nants of twenty Loyalist corps to pension,
tle, or employ. There were also the British
soners to receive, besides ten thousand
rman mercenaries. Add to all this the
ular garrison and the general oversight of
ry British interest in North America, from
Floridas to Labrador, remember the im-
cable enemy in front, and we may faintly
gine what Carleton had to do before he
ld report that 'His Majesty's troops and
h remaining Loyalists as chose to emigrate
e successfully withdrawn on the 25th [of

November] without the smallest circumstan
of irregularity.'

Thus ended one of the greatest acts in t
drama of the British Empire, the Englis
speaking peoples, or the world ; and thus,
the second time, Carleton, now in his sixtie
year, apparently ended his own long serv
in America. He had left Canada, after sav
her from obliteration, because, so long as
remained her governor, the war minister
home remained her enemy. He had th
returned to serve in New York, and h
stayed there to the bitter end, because th
was no other man whom the new governm
would trust to command the rearguard of
Empire in retreat.

CHAPTER IX

FOUNDING MODERN CANADA

1786-1796

CARLETON now enjoyed two years of uninterrupted peace at his country seat in England. His active career seemed to have closed at last. He had no taste for party politics. He was not anxious to fill any position of civil or military trust, even if it had been pressed upon him. And he had said farewell to America for good and all when he had left New York. Though as full of public spirit as before and only just turned sixty, he bid fair to spend the rest of his life as an English country gentleman. His young wife was well contented with her lot. His manly boys promised to become worthy followers of the noble profession of arms. And the overseeing of his little estate occupied his time very pleasantly indeed. Like most healthy Englishmen he was devoted to horses, and, unlike some others, was very successful with his thoroughbreds.

He had first bought a place near Maide
head, beside the Thames, which is nowhe
lovelier than in that sylvan neighbourhoo
Then he bought the present family seat
Greywill Hill near the little village of Odiha
in Hampshire. As an ex-governor and co
mander-in-chief, a county magnate, a perso
age of great importance to the Empire, a
the one victorious British general in the u
happy American war, he had more than earn
a peerage. But it was not till 1786, on t
eve of his sixty-second birthday, and at a ti
when his services were urgently requir
again, that he received it. Needless to s
this peerage had nothing whatever to do wi
his acceptance of another self-sacrificing dut
It was not given till several months after
had promised to return to Canada; and
would certainly have refused it if it had be
held out to him as an inducement to go the
He became Baron Dorchester and was grant
the not very extravagant addition to h
income of a thousand pounds a year payab
during four lives, his own, his wife's, and tho
of his two eldest sons. His elevation to t
House of Lords met with the almost unanimo
approval of his fellow-peers, in marked co
trast to the open hostility they had sho

wards his old enemy, Lord George Germain, nen that vile wrecker had been 'kicked stairs' among them. The Carleton motto, est, and supporters are all most appropriate. ne crest is a strong right arm with the hand nched firmly on an arrow. The motto is *ondam his vicimus armis—We used to nquer with these arms.* The supporters are o beavers, typifying Canada, while their spective collars, one a naval the other a litary coronet, show how her British life s won and saved and has been kept.

Carleton was a man of great reserve and f-control. But his kindly nature must ve responded to the cordial welcome which received on his return to Quebec in October 86. It was not without reason that the ople of Canada rejoiced to have him back their leader. All that the Indians imagined e Great White Father to be towards themves he was in reality towards both red man d white. Stern, when the occasion forced n to be stern, just in all his dealings between an and man, dignified and courteous in all s ways, a soldier through every inch of his ulwart six feet, he was a ruler with whom one ever dreamt of taking liberties. But

neither did any deserving one in trouble ev hesitate to lay the most confidential case b fore him in the full assurance that his head a heart were at the service of all committed his care. And no other governor, before h time or since, ever inspired his followers wi such a firm belief that all would turn out f the best so long as he was in command.

This power of inspiring confidence was n badly needed. Everything in Canada w still provisional. Owing to the war the Qu bec Act of 1774 had never been thorough enforced. Then, when the war was over, t Loyalists arrived and completely changed t circumstances which the act had been d signed to meet. The next constitution, t Canada Act of 1791, was of a very differe character. During the seventeen years b tween these two constitutions all that cou be done was to make the best of a very co fusing state of flux. Not that the Queb Act was a dead letter—far from it—b simply that it could not go beyond restori the privileges of the French-Canadian pries and seigneurs within the area then effe tively occupied by the French-Canadian ra Carleton, as we have seen, had faced i problem for the first four years. Haldima

ad carried on the government under its pro-sions for the following six. Hamilton and ope, successive lieutenant-governors, had idged the two years between Haldimand's tirement and Carleton's second appoint-ent. Now Carleton was to pick up the reads and make what he could of the tangled ein for the next five years. Haldimand d not been popular with either of the two ief parties into which the leading French nadians were divided. The seigneurs had thing like the same regard for a Swiss soldier fortune that they had for aristocratic itish commanders like Murray and Carleton. ne clergy also preferred these Anglicans to ch a strong Swiss Protestant. The habitants d agitators, who were far less favourable the new régime, had passionately resented aldimand's firmness at times of crisis. But, spite all this French-Canadian animus, he s not such an absolute martinet as some iters would have us think. The war with ance and with the American Revolutionists quired strong government in Canada ; while e influx of Loyalists had introduced an tirely new set of most perplexing circum-nces. On the whole, Haldimand had done ry well in spite of many personal and public

drawbacks; and it was through no speci fault of his, nor yet of Hope's, that the thread which Carleton picked up formed such perversely tangled skein.

The troubles that now dogged the grea conciliator's every step were of all kinds— racial, religious, social, political, military diplomatic, legal. The confusion resultin from the intermixture of French and Englis civil laws had become a great deal more co founded since he had left Canada eight yea before. The old proportions of races an religions to each other had changed most di turbingly. The Loyalists were of quite different social class from the English-speakin immigrants of earlier days. They wanted parliament, public schools, and many othe things new to the country; and they were th sort of people who had a right to have them The problem of defence was always a vexe one with the inadequate military forces a hand and the insuperable difficulties concern ing the militia. The British still held th Western forts pending the settlement of th frontier and the execution of the treaty o peace in full. This naturally annoyed th American government and gave Carleton end less trouble. But more serious still was th

easeless western march of the American ackwoodsmen, who were everywhere in con- ict with the Indians. The Indians, in their urn, were confused between the British and mericans under the new conditions. They nd their ever-receding rights and territories ad not been mentioned in the treaty. But, eeing that they would be better off under ritish than under American rule, they were nclined to take sides accordingly. There ere now no openly hostile sides to take. ut, for all that, the British posts in the interland looked like weak little islands hich might be suddenly engulfed in the sea f Indian troubles raging round them. Then, t the other end of the British line, there were ne three maritime provinces to watch over. ew Brunswick had been divided off from ova Scotia and Prince Edward Island had een taken from the direct supervision of the ome authorities and placed under the com- and of the new governor at Quebec. Thus arleton had to deal directly with everything nat happened from the far West to Gaspé, hile dealing indirectly with the three mari- me provinces and all the troubles that proved o much for their own lieutenant-governors. here was no chance of concentrating on one

thing at a time. Nothing would wait. Th
governor had to watch the writhing tangle a
a whole during every minute he devoted t
any one kinked and knotted thread.

Fortunately there were some good men i
office on both sides of the Atlantic. Lord
Sydney and Grenville, the two cabine
ministers with whom Carleton had most to do
were both sensible and sympathetic. Year
afterwards Grenville, the favourite cousin o
Pitt, became the colleague of Fox at the hea
of the celebrated ' Ministry of All the Talents
Hope was an acceptable lieutenant-governo
and his successor, Sir Alured Clarke, was bette
still. François Bailly, the coadjutor Roma
Catholic bishop of Quebec, who had gone t
England as French tutor to Carleton's childre
was a most enlightened cleric. So too wa
Charles Inglis, the Anglican bishop of Nov
Scotia, appointed in 1787. He was the firs
Canadian bishop of the Anglican communio
and his diocese comprised the whole of Britis
North America. William Smith, the ne
chief justice, was as different from Carleton
last chief justice, Livius, as angels are fro
devils. Smith had been an excellent chie
justice of his native New York in the ol
colonial days, and, like Inglis, was a ver

rdent Loyalist. He respected all reason-
ble French-Canadian peculiarities. But he
avoured the British-Constitutional way of
broadening down from precedent to prece-
ent ' rather than the French way of referring
o a supposedly infallible written regulation.
Ve shall soon meet him as a far-seeing states-
nan. But he well deserves an honoured place
n Canadian history for his legal services
lone. To him, more than to any other man,
; due the nicely balanced adjustments which
ventually harmonized the French and Eng-
sh codes into a body of laws adapted to the
xtraordinary circumstances of the province
f Quebec.

Besides the committee on laws Carleton had
ominated three other active committees of
is council, one on police, another on educa-
ion, and a third on trade and commerce.
he police committee was of the usual kind
nd dealt with usual problems in the usual
vay. But the education committee brought
ut all the vexed questions of French and
English, Protestant and Roman Catholic, pro-
ressive and reactionary. Strangely enough,
he sharpest personal controversy was that
etween Hubert, the Roman Catholic bishop
f Quebec, and his coadjutor Bailly. Hubert

enumerated all the institutions already en
gaged in educational work and suggeste
that 'rest and be thankful' was the onl
proper attitude for the committee to assume
But Bailly very neatly pointed out that hi
respected superior's real opinions could no
be those attributed to him over his ow
signature because they were at variance wit
the facts. Hubert had said that the curé
were spreading education with most com
mendable zeal, had repudiated the base in
sinuation that only three or four people i
each parish could read and write, and ha
wound up by thinking that while there wa
so much land to clear the farmers would d
better to keep their sons at home than sen
them to a university, where they would b
under professors so 'unprejudiced' as t
have no definite views on religion. Baill
argued that the bishop could not mean wha
these words seemed to imply, as the logica
conclusion would be to wait till Canada wa
cleared right up to the polar circle. In th
end the committee made three very sanguin
recommendations: a free common school i
every parish, a secondary school in every tow
or district, and an absolutely non-sectaria
central university. This educational ladde

as never set up. There was nothing to pport either end of it. The financial side as one difficulty. The Jesuits' estates were tended to be made over into educational ndowments under government control. But mherst's claim that they had been granted him in 1760 was not settled for forty years; nd by that time all chance of carrying out e committee's intentions was seen to be peless.

Commerce was another burning question nd one of much more immediate concern. 1791 the united populations of all the ovinces amounted to only a quarter of a illion, of whom at least one-half were French anadians. Quebec and Montreal had barely n thousand citizens apiece. But the commercial classes, mostly English-speaking, had eatly increased in numbers, ability, and cial standing. The camp-following gangs twenty years before had now either disppeared or sunk down to their appropriate vel. So petitions from the 'British merants' required and received much more conderation than formerly. The Loyalists had t yet had time to start in business. All eir energies were needed in hewing out their ture homes. But two parts of the American

Republic, Vermont and Kentucky, were ver
anxious to do business with the British
any reasonable price. Some of their citizer
were even ready for a change of allegiance
the terms were only good enough. Vermor
wanted a 'free trade' outlet to the S
Lawrence by way of the Richelieu. Th
rapids between St Johns and Chambly la
in British territory. But Vermont was read
to join in building a canal and would eve
become British to make sure. The old Gree
Mountain Boys had changed their tun
Ethan Allen himself had buried the hatche
and, like his brother, become Carleton
friendly correspondent. He frankly ex
plained that what Vermonters really wante
was 'property not liberty' and added tha
they would stand no coercion from th
American government. About the same tim
Kentucky was bent on getting an equall
'free trade' outlet to the Gulf of Mexico b
way of the Mississippi. The fact that Franc
Spain, the British Empire, and the Unite
States might all be involved in war over
did not trouble the conspirators in the leas
The central authority of the new Republ
was still weak. The individual states wer
still ready to fly asunder. Federal taxatio

as greatly feared. Anything that savoured federal interference with state rights was ssionately resented. The general spirit of e westerners was that of the exploiting oneer in a virgin wilderness—a law unto elf alone. There were various plans for ening the coveted Mississippi. One was join Spain. Another was to seize New leans, turn out the French, and bring in e British. Then, to make the plot com-ete, the French minister to the United States as asking permission to make a tour through nada at the very time when Carleton was nding home reams of documents bearing the impending troubles. The letters ex-anged on this subject are perfect models of liteness. But Carleton's answer was an phatic No.

Foreign complications were thickening fast. e French Revolution had already begun, ough its effect was not yet felt in Canada. e American government was anxiously tching its refractory states, while an anti-itish political party was making headway in e South. As if this was not enough to gage whatever attention Carleton had to are from the internal affairs of Canada, he ddenly heard that the Spaniards had been

seizing British vessels trading to a British pos on Vancouver Island.[1] This Nootka Affai which nearly brought on a war with Spain i 1790, was settled in London and Madrid. Bu the threat of war added to Carleton's anxieties

Meanwhile the governor was busily em ployed with an immigration problem. It wa desirable that the English-speaking imm grants should settle on the land with the leas possible friction between them and the Frenc Canadians. The French Canadians differe among themselves. But no such difference brought them any closer to their new neigh bours on questions of land settlement. Th French had granted lands in seigneurie The British would hear of nothing but fre and common socage. French farms wer measured by the arpent and were staked ou in long and narrow oblongs. British farm were measured by the acre and staked ou 'on the square.' Language, laws, religion manners and customs, ways of life, were als different. So there was hardly any inte mixture of settlements. The French Can dians remained where they were. Most the new Anglo-Canadians settled in th Maritime Provinces or moved west into wha

[1] See *Pioneers of the Pacific Coast* in this Series.

now Ontario. A few settled in rural ebec on lands outside the line of seigneuries. e Eastern Townships, that part of the pro- ce lying east of the Richelieu and nearest American frontier, absorbed many English, sh, and Scots, as well as a good many nericans who were attracted by cheap land. tario, or Upper Canada, received still more nericans, who were to be a thorn in the e of the British during the War of 1812.

But Carleton's work comprised much more n this. There were the Church of England, Post Office, a refractory lieutenant- ernor down in Prince Edward Island, two al visitors, and many other distracting tters. The only Anglican see thus far ablished was at Halifax; but the bishop re had authority over the whole country the government intended to establish the urch of England in Canada and endow it. Presbyterians also petitioned for the ablishment of the Scottish Church. The unes or misfortunes of the Clergy Reserves ong to another chapter of Canadian history. the root of their good or evil was planted the time of Carleton. The postal service surrounded by enormous difficulties—the t extent of wild country, the few towns,

the long winters, the poverty of the peop
The question of the winter port was even th
a live one between St John and Halifax. Ea
of these towns asserted its advantages a
promised twelve trips a year and connecti
with Quebec overland by means of walki
postmen till a bush road should be cut fr
Quebec to the sea. In Prince Edward Isla
the old lieutenant-governor, Walter Patterso
declined to make way for the new o
Edmund Fanning. In the end Patterson ga
up the contest. But the incident, trivial
it now appears, shows what a governor-gene
had to face in the early days when each p
vince had queer little ways of its ow
Patterson had no precise official reason. B
he said he could not go home to answer charg
he did not understand and leave an isla
which had been his very successful hobby
so many years! The people sided with h
so vigorously that time had to be given th
to cool down before the transfer could
peaceably effected.

A judge whose court is in perpetual sessi
or a commander whose inadequate forces
continually surrounded by prospective enem
has little time for the amenities of purely soc
life. So Carleton generally left his you

nsort to rule the viceregal court at the âteau St Louis with a perfect blend of ndon and Versailles. Two Princes of the ood, however, demanded more than the ual attention from the governor. Prince illiam Henry, afterwards King William IV, s the first member of the Royal Family to foot in the New World when he arrived H.M.S. *Pegasus* in 1787. He was the verbial jolly Jack Tar, extremely affable everybody; and he quickly won golden inions from all who met him, except rhaps from Lady Dorchester and sundry uld-be partners for his duty dances. ilippe Aubert de Gaspé and other privileged roniclers record with slightly shocked delight w often he would break loose from Lady rchester's designing care, long before she ought it right for him to do so, and 'com-nd' his partners for their pretty faces tead of by precedence. At Sorel the people re so carried away by their enthusiasm at they insisted on changing the name of eir little town to William Henry. Happily s name never took root in public sentiment d the old one soon came back to stay.

The second member of the Royal Family come to Canada was Prince Edward, Duke

of Kent, fourth son of George III, father
Queen Victoria and grandfather of Prin
Arthur, Duke of Connaught, who became t
first royal governor-general in 1911, exact
a hundred and twenty years later. The Du
of Kent would have gladly returned to Queb
as governor-general, and the people wou
have gladly welcomed him. But he was n
a favourite with the government at hom
and so he never came. There was no dou
about his being a popular favourite in Queb
during the three years he spent there as colo
of the 7th Fusiliers. Nor has he been f
gotten to the present day. Kent House
still the name of his quarters in the town
well as of his country residence at Mo
morency Falls seven miles away, while t
only new opening ever made in the walls
called Kent Gate.

The duke made fast friends with seve
of the seigneurial families, more especia
with the de Salaberrys, whose manor-ho
at Beauport stood half-way between Mo
morency and Quebec and not far fr
Montcalm's headquarters in 1759. The
Salaberrys were a military family. All t
sons went into the Army and one became t
hero of Châteauguay in the War of 1812. B

he duke mixed freely with many other people han the local aristocracy. He was young, igh-spirited, and loved adventure, as was roved by his subsequent gallantry at Mar- nique. He was also fond of driving round ncognito, a habit which on at least one ccasion obliged him to put his skill at boxing o good use. This was at Charlesbourg, a illage near Quebec, where he was watching he fun at the first election ever held. Perhaps, om a meticulously constitutional point of iew, the scene of a hotly contested election as not quite the place for Princes of the lood. But, however that might be, when he duke saw two electors pommelling a third, ho happened to be a friend of his, he dashed to the rescue and floored both of them with neatly planted right and left. One of these en, who lived to see King Edward VII arrive 1860, as Prince of Wales, always took the reatest pride in telling successive generations voters how Queen Victoria's father had nocked him down.

Like his brother before him the duke was ery fond of dancing, and kept many a re- ctant senior and many a tired-out chaperone till all hours at the grand ball given in onour of his twenty-fourth birthday. Also

like his brother he was inclined to reduce hi duty dances to a minimum, much to Lady Dorchester's dismay. She had gone hom with her husband for two years shortly afte the duke's arrival. But she had seen enoug of him, and was to see enough again on he return, to make her regret the good old time of more exacting ceremony. To her dyin day, half a century later, she kept up a pro digious stateliness of manner. Before meal she expected the whole company to assembl and remain standing till she had made he royal progress through the room. She was living anachronism for many years before he death, with her high-heeled, gold-buttoned scarlet-coloured shoes, her Marie-Antoinett *coiffure* raised high above her head and inter laced with ribbons, her elaborately gorgeou dress, her intricate array of ornaments, an her long, jet-black, official-looking cane. Bu she was no anachronism to herself; for sh still lived in the light of other days, in th fondly remembered times when, as the vice reine of the Château St Louis, she helped he consort to settle nice points of etiquette an maintain a dignity befitting His Majesty' chosen representative. How did the seigneur rank among themselves and with the leadin

nglish-speaking people? Who were to dance the state minuet? Should dancing cease hen the bishops came in, and for how long? as that curtsy dropped quite low enough her viceregal self, and did that *débutante* fer her blushing cheek in quite the proper ay to Carleton when he graciously gave her e presentation kiss? How immeasurably r away it all seems now, that stately little urt where the echoes of a dead Versailles ed on for seven years after the fall of the astille! And yet there is still one citizen of uebec whose early partners were chaperoned ladies who had danced the minuet with ord and Lady Dorchester.

The two royal visits were not without their olitical significance—using the word political its larger meaning. But the three years tween them—that is, 1788-89-90—formed e really pregnant time of constitutional de-lopment, when the Canada Act of 1791 was king shape in the minds of its chief authors Carleton and Smith in Canada, Grenville d Pitt in England. The Loyalists and the nglish-speaking merchants of Quebec and ontreal took good care to make themselves ard at every stage of the proceedings. Most

French Canadians would have preferred to b
left without the suspected blessings of a parli
ment. The clergy and seigneurs wished f
a continuance of the Quebec Act, and th
habitants wanted they knew not what, pr
vided it would enable them to get more a
give less. The English-speaking people, o
the other hand, were all for a parliament. Bu
they differed widely as to what kind of parli
ment would suit their purpose best. As
rule they acquiesced, with a more or less ba
grace, in the necessity of admitting Frenc
Canadians on the same terms as themselve
If Canada, without the Maritime Province
should be taken as a whole then the Frenc
Canadians would only be in a moderat
majority. If, however, two provinces, Upp
Canada and Lower Canada, were to be erecte
then the English-speaking minority in Low
Canada would be outvoted three or four t
one.

There was a third alternative: no less tha
the establishment of a regular Dominion
British North America in 1790, a step whic
might have saved much trouble between tha
time and the Confederation of 1867. Willia
Smith was its strongest advocate, Carleton i
most cautious and judicious supporter. Th

hief justice was in favour of federating Upper nd Lower Canada with the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland into a single ominion. Each of the six provinces would ave its own parliament under a lieutenant-overnor, while there would also be a central arliament under a governor-general. Carleton orwarded the suggestion to the home government; but he nowhere committed himself to ny very definite scheme. His own preference as for keeping the existing province of uebec a little longer, then dividing it, and fterwards drawing in the other provinces. he chief justice preferred to make a constitution. The governor preferred to let it grow. he home government's preference could not e stated better than in Grenville's dispatch o Carleton of the 20th of October 1789: 'The eneral object is to assimilate the constitution o that of Great Britain as nearly as the difference arising from the manners of the People nd from the present situation of the Province will admit. . . . Attention is due to he prejudices and habits of the French Inabitants and every caution should be used o continue to them the enjoyment of those ivil and religious Rights which were secured o them by the Capitulation or which have

since been granted by the liberal and enlightened spirit of the British Government. Except for its rather too self-righteous conclusion this confidential announcement really is an admirable statement of the 'liberal and enlightened' views which prevailed at Westminster.

The bill, postponed in 1790, was introduced by Pitt himself in the House of Commons on the 7th of March 1791. Sixteen days later Adam Lymburner, a representative merchant of Quebec, whom Carleton described as 'a quiet, decent man, not unfriendly to the administration,' pleaded for hours before the committee of the House of Commons against the division of the province. All the English-speaking minority in the prospective province of Lower Canada were afraid of being swamped by the French-Canadian vote, and so of being hampered in liberty and trade. The London merchants naturally backed Lymburner. Fox opposed the bill as not being liberal enough. Burke flared up into the speech which led to his final breach with Fox. Pitt, the pilot who was to weather far greater storms in the years to come, eventually got the bill through both Houses with substantial majorities. On the 14th of May it

ecame law. Quebec and Ontario were parted or good, notwithstanding the legislative union f fifty years later.

The Canada Act, or, as it is better known, he Constitutional Act, cut off Upper Canada. ower Canada was now the old Quebec reuced to its right size, endowed with clarified aws and a brand-new parliament, and made s acceptable as possible to the English-peaking minority without any injustice to he vastly greater French majority. Quebec, hree Rivers, Montreal, and Sorel got each wo members in the new parliament, an allotnent which ensured a certain representation f the 'British' merchants. The franchise as the same in both provinces: in the ountry parts a forty-shilling freehold or its quivalent, and in the towns either a fiveound annual ownership value or twice that or a tenant. The Crown gave up all taxation xcept commercial duties, which were to be pplied solely for the benefit of the provinces. ands outside the seigneuries were to be in ree and common socage, while seigneurial enure itself could be converted into freehold n petition. One-seventh of the Crown lands as reserved for the endowment of the Church f England. The Crown kept all rights of

veto and appointment. The legislatures were small in membership. The Upper Houses could be made hereditary; though the actual tenure was never more than for life during good behaviour. Carleton favoured the hereditary principle whenever it could be applied with advantage. But he knew the ups and downs of colonial fortunes too well to believe that Canada was ready for any such experiment.

No one dreamt of having what is now known as responsible government, that is, an executive sitting in the legislature and responsible to the legislature for its acts. Nor was the greatest of all parliamentary powers—the power of the purse—given outright. This, however, was owing to simple force of circumstances and not to any desire of abridging the liberties of the people. The fact is that at this time eighty per cent of the total civil expenditure had to be paid by the home government. It is frequently ignored that the mother country paid most of Canada's bills till long after the War of 1812, that she paid nearly all the naval and military accounts for longer still, and that she has borne far more than her own share of the common defence down to the present day.

The new constitution came into force on e 26th of December 1791 ; and, for the first ne, Upper and Lower Canada had the right elect their own representatives. Assemblies, course, were nothing new in British North nerica. Nova Scotia had an assembly in 58, the year that Louisbourg was taken. ince Edward Island had one in 1773, the ar before the Quebec Act was passed. New unswick had one in 1786, the year Carleton gan his second term. But assemblies still d all the charm of novelty in 'Canada pper.' Perhaps it would be more appro- iate to say that Upper Canada experienced re charm than novelty while Lower Canada perienced more novelty than charm. The nglo-Canadians in all five provinces were ed to parliaments in America. Their an- stors had been used to them for centuries England. So the little parliament of pper Canada at Newark passed as many bills five weeks as that of Lower Canada passed seven months. The fact that there were y members in the Assembly at Quebec, ile there were only half as many in both ambers at Newark, doubtless had something do with it. But the fact that the Quebec rliament was an innovation, while the one

at Newark was a simple development, ha very much more.

There is no need to follow the course legislation in any of the five provinces. A most of the civil and practically all the nava and military expenditure had to be met by th Imperial Treasury, and as Canada was fiv parts and no whole from her own parliamen ary point of view, the legislation required fo a grand total of two hundred and fift thousand people could not be of the nationa kind. But at Quebec the scene, the settin and the unheard-of innovation itself all give special interest to every detail of the openin ceremony on the 17th of December 1792.

Carleton was in England, so the Speec from the Throne was read by the lieutenan governor, Major-General Sir Alured Clark Half of the Upper House and two-thirds of th Lower were French Canadians. A Frenc Canadian member was nominated for th speakership and elected unanimously. Bot races were for the most part represented b members whose official title of 'Honourab Gentlemen' was not at all a misnomer. Th French members of the Assembly were ha distrustful both of it and of themselves. Bu they knew how to add grace and dignity to

ery notable occasion. The old Bishop's alace served as the Houses of Parliament and continued for many years to come. It was solid rather than a stately pile. But it ood on a commanding site at the head of ountain Hill between the Grand Battery and e Château St Louis. Every one was in iform or in what corresponded to court ess. Round the throne stood many officers their red and gold, conspicuous among them e Duke of Kent. In front sat the Executive d Legislative Councillors, corresponding to e modern cabinet ministers and senators. eir roll, as well as the Assembly's, bore ny names that recalled the glories of the l régime—St Ours, Longueuil, de Lanaudière, Boucherville, de Salaberry, de Lotbinière, d many more. The Council chamber was wded in every part long before the governor ived. 'The Ladies introduced into the use' were 'without Hat, Cloak, or Bonnet,' 'Doorkeeper of His Majesty's Council' ving taken good care to see them 'leave the ne in the Great Committee Room previous their Introduction.' 'The Ladies attached His Excellency's Suite' were admitted ithin the railing or body of the House' and commodated with the seats of the members

as far as possible.' Outwardly it was all ver
much the same in principle as the openin
of any other British parliament—the escor
guard, and band, the royal salute, the brillian
staff, the scarlet cloth of state, the few an
quiet members of the Upper House, the man
of the Lower, jostling each other to get a goo
place near Mr Speaker at the bar, the radian
ladies, the crowded galleries corniced with in
quiring faces and craned necks, the Gentleme
Ushers and their quaint bows, the Speech fro
the Throne and the occasional lifting of H
Excellency's hat, the retiring in full state; an
then the ebbing away of all the sightseer
their eddying currents of packed humanity
the halls and passages, the porch, the doo
the emptying street. But inwardly what
world of difference! For here was the fir
British parliament in which legislators
foreign birth and blood and language we
shaping British laws as British subjects.

In September 1793 Carleton returned fro
his two years' absence and was welcom
more warmly than ever. Quebec blazed wi
illuminations. The streets swarmed wi
eager crowds. The first session of the fir
parliament had been better than any one ha

ared to hope for. There was a general ndency to give the new constitution a fair ial; and all classes looked to Carleton to ake the harmony that had been attained oth permanent and universal. Dr Jacob ountain, first Anglican bishop of Quebec, so arrived shortly afterwards and was armly greeted by the Roman Catholic pre- te, who embraced him, saying, 'It 's time you me to shepherd your own flock.' Mountain as statesman and churchman in one. He d been chosen by the elder Pitt to be e younger's tutor and then chosen by the unger to be his private secretary. The ct that the Anglican bishop of Quebec was en and for many years afterwards a sort Canadian chaplain-general to the Imperial oops and that most of the leading officials d leading Loyalists belonged to the Church England made him a personage of great im- rtance. It was fortunate that, as in the se of Inglis down in Halifax, the choice uld not have fallen on a better man or on e who knew better how to win the esteem communions other than his own. This me year (1793) died William Smith, full honours. But the next year his excellent ccessor arrived in the person of William

Osgoode, the new chief justice, an eminent English lawyer who had served for two years as chief justice of Upper Canada and whose name is commemorated in Osgoode Hall, Toronto. He had come out on the distinct understanding that no fees were to be attached to his office, only a definite salary. This was a great triumph for Carleton, who certainly practised what he preached.

So far, so good. But the third conspicuous new arrival, John Graves Simcoe, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, who had come out the year before, was a great deal less to Carleton's liking. Simcoe was a good officer who threw himself heart and soul into the work of settling the new province. He won the affectionate regard of his people and is gratefully remembered by their posterity. But he was too exclusively of his own province in his civil and military outlook and was disposed to ignore Carleton as his official chief. Moreover, he was appointed in spite of Carleton's strongly expressed preference for Sir John Johnson, who, to all appearance, was the very man for the post. Sir William Johnson, the first baronet, had been the great British leader of the Indians and a person of much consequence throughout America. He

n John inherited many of his good qualities, oroughly understood the West and its prob-ms, was a devoted Loyalist all through the evolution, when he raised the King's Royal egiment of New York, and would have been cond only to Carleton himself in the eyes of l Canadians, old and new. But the govern-ent thought his private interests too great r his public duty—an excellent general inciple, though misapplied in this particu-r case. At any rate, Simcoe came instead, d the friction began at once. Simcoe's mmission clearly made him subordinate to rleton. Yet Simcoe made appointments thout consulting his superior and argued the int after he had been brought to book. He mmunicated directly with the home govern-ent over his superior's head and was not buked by the minister to whom he wrote Henry Dundas, afterwards first Viscount elville. Dundas, indeed, was half inclined snub Carleton. Simcoe desired to establish litary posts wherever he thought they would st promote immediate settlement, a policy ich would tend to sap both the govern-ent's resources and the self-reliance of the ttlers. He also wished to fix the capital at ndon instead of York, now Toronto, and to

make York instead of Kingston the naval bas for Lake Ontario. Thus the friction con tinued. At length Carleton wrote to th Duke of Portland, Pitt's home secretary, say ing: 'All command, civil and military, bein thus disorganized and without remedy, you Grace will, I hope, excuse my anxiety for th arrival of my successor, who may hav authority sufficient to restore order, lest thes insubordinations should extend to mutin among the troops and sedition among th people.' That was in November 1795. Th government, however, took no decisive actio and next year both Carleton and Simcoe le Canada for ever.

When this unfortunate quarrel began (179 Canada was in grave danger of being attacke by both the French and the American re publics. The danger, however, had bee greatly lessened by Jay's Treaty of 1794 an was to be still further lessened (1796) by th transfer of the Western Posts to the Unite States and by the presidential election whic gave the Federal party a new lease of powe though no longer under Washington. Ha Carleton remained in Canada these felicito events would have offered him a uniqu opportunity of strengthening the friendly ti

etween the British and the Americans in a ay which might have saved some trouble ter on. But that was not to be.

To understand the dangers which threatned Canada during the last three years of arleton's rule we must go back to February 793, when revolutionary France declared ar on England and there then began that tanic struggle which only ended twenty-two ears later on the field of Waterloo. The mericans were divided into two parties, one isposed to be friendly towards Great Britain, ne other unfriendly. The names these arties then bore must not be confused with ose borne by their political offspring at the resent day. The Federals, progenitors of ne present Republicans, formed the friendly arty under Washington, Hamilton, and Jay. he Republicans, progenitors of the present emocrats, formed the unfriendly party under efferson, Madison, and Randolph. The ederals were in power, the Republicans in pposition. When the Republicans got into ower in 1801 under Jefferson they pursued heir anti-British policy till they finally rought on the War of 1812 under the predency of Madison. The strength of the eace party lay in the North ; that of the war

party lay in the South. The peaceful Federals now that Independence had been gained, were in favour of meeting the amicable British government half-way. When Pitt came into power in 1783 he at once held out the olive branch. Now, ten years later, the more far-seeing statesmen on both sides were preparing to confirm the new friendship in the practical form of Jay's Treaty, which put the United States into what is at present known as a most-favoured-nation position with regard to British trade and commerce. Moreover Washington and his Northern Federals much preferred a British Canada to a French one, while Jefferson and the Southern Republicans thought any stick was good enough to beat the British dog with.

The Jeffersonians eagerly seized on the reports of a speech which Carleton made to the Miamis, who lived just south of Detroit, and used it to the utmost as a means of stirring up anti-British feeling. Carleton had said 'You are witnesses that we have acted in the most peaceable manner and borne the language and conduct of the United States with patience. But I believe our patience is almost exhausted.' Applied to the vexed questions of the Western Posts, of the lawless

ways of the exterminating American pioneers, nd of the infinitely worse jobbing politicians ehind them, this language was mildness tself. But in view of the high statesmanship f Washington and his government it was in-udicious. All the same, Dundas, more speci-lly because he was a cabinet minister, was ven more injudicious when he adopted a tone f reproof towards Carleton, whose great ervices, past and present, entitled him to nusual respect and confidence. The negotia-ions for Jay's Treaty were then in progress n London, and Jefferson saw his chance of njuring both the American and British govern-nents by magnifying Carleton's speech into an unwarrantable outrage.' He also hoped that n Indian war would upset the treaty and ring on a British war as well. And the rospect did look encouragingly black in the Vest, where the American general Wayne as ready waiting south of Lake Erie, while ne trade in scalps was unusually brisk. Forty ollars was the regular market price for an rdinary Indian's scalp. But as much as a housand was offered for Simon Girty's in the ope of getting that inconvenient British out put quickly out of the way. Nearer ome Jefferson and his band of demagogues

had other arguments as well. The Federa North would suffer most by war, while th Republican South might use war as a mean of repudiating all the debts she owed t Englishmen. This would have been a ver different thing from the insolvency of th Continental Congress during the Revolution It was dire want, not financial infamy, tha made the Revolutionary paper money 'no worth a Continental.' But it would hav been sheer theft for the Jeffersonian South t have made its honest obligations 'rotten as a Pennsylvanian bond.'

The wild French-Revolutionary rage tha swept through the South now fanned the flam and made the sparks fly over into Canada In April 1793 a fiery Red Republican, name Genet, landed at Charleston as French ministe to the United States and made a triumpha progress to Philadelphia. Nobody bothere about the fundamental differences between th French and American revolutions. Franc and England were going to war and that wa enough. Genet was one of those 'impossibles whom revolutions throw into ridiculous power When he began his campaign the Republica South was at his feet. Planters and legislator donned caps of liberty and danced themselve

o crazy over the rights of abstract man that ney had no enthusiasm left for such concrete nstances as Loyalists, Englishmen, and their wn plantation slaves. Then Genet made his ext step in the new diplomacy by fitting out rench privateers in American harbours and eizing British vessels in American waters. his brought Washington down on him at nce. Then he lost his head completely, oused everybody, including Jefferson, and etired from public life as an American citizen, eing afraid to go home.

Genet's absurd career was short, but very neteoric while it lasted, and full of anti-ritish mischief-making. His agents were verywhere; and his successor, Adet, carried n the underground agitation with equal zeal nd more astuteness. Vermont offered an xcellent base of operations. Finding that s British proclivities had not produced the hambly canal for its trade with the St awrence, it had become more violently anti-ritish than ever before and even proposed aking Canada single-handed. This time its ew policy remained at fever heat for over nree years and only cooled down when a ritish man-of-war captured the incongru-usly named *Olive Branch*, in which Ira Allen

was trying to run the blockade from Ostend with twenty thousand muskets and other arms which he represented as being solely for the annual drill of the Vermont militia. Thus Carleton had to watch the raging South, the dangerous West, and bellicose Vermont, all together, besides taking whatever measures he could against the swarms of secret enemies within the gates. The American immigrants who wanted 'property not liberty' were ready enough for a change of flag whenever it suited them. But they were few compared with the mass of French Canadians who were being stirred into disaffection. The seigneurs, the clergy, and the very few enlightened people of other classes had no desire for being conquered by a regicide France or an obliterating American Republic. But many of the habitants and of the uneducated in the towns lent a willing ear to those who promised them all kinds of liberty and property put together.

The danger was all the greater because it was no longer one foreigner intriguing against another, as in 1775, but French against British and class against class. Some of the appeals were still ridiculous. The habitants found themselves credited with an unslakable thirst for higher education. They were

romised 'free' maritime intercommunication between the Old World and the New, a wonderful extension of representative institutions, and much more to the same effect, universal revolutionary brotherhood included. But when Frenchmen came promising fleets and armies, when these emissaries were backed by French Canadians who had left home for good reasons after the troubles of 1775, and when the habitants were positively assured by all these credible witnesses that France and the United States were going to drive the British out of Canada and make a heaven on earth for all who would turn against Carleton, then there really was something that sensible men could believe. Everything for nothing—or next to nothing. Only turn against the British and the rest would be easy. No more tithes to the curés, no more seigneurial dues, no more taxes to a government which put half the money in its own pocket and sent the other half to the king, who spent it buying palaces and crowns.

'Nothing is too absurd for them to believe,' wrote Carleton, who felt all the old troubles of 1775 coming back in a greatly aggravated form. He lost no time in vain regrets, however, but got a militia bill through parliament,

improved the defences of Quebec, and issued a proclamation enjoining all good subjects to find out, report, and seize every sedition monger they could lay their hands on. An attempt to embody two thousand militiamen by ballot was a dead failure. The few English speaking militiamen required came forward 'with alacrity.' The habitants hung back or broke into riotous mobs. The ordinary habitant could hardly be blamed. He saw little difference between one kind of English-speaking people and another. So he naturally thought it best to be on the side of the prospective winners, especially when they persuaded him that he would get back everything taken from him by 'the infamous Quebec Act.' There really was no way whatever of getting him to see the truth under these circumstances. The mere fact that his condition had improved so much under British rule made him all the readier to cry for the Franco-American moon. Things presently went from bad to worse. A glowing, bombastic address from 'The Free French to their Canadian Brothers' (who of course were 'slaves') was even read out at more than one church door. Then the Quebec Assembly unanimously passed an Alien Act in May 1794, and suspected characters began

o find that two could play at the game. This tringent act was not passed a day too soon. By its provisions the Habeas Corpus Act ould be suspended or suppressed and the trongest measures taken against sedition in very form. Monk, the attorney-general, reorted that 'It is astonishing to find the same avagery exhibited here as in France.' The abitants and lower class of townsfolk had een well worked up 'to follow France and he United States by destroying a throne hich was the seat of hypocrisy, imposture, espotism, greed, cruelty' and all the other eadly sins. The first step was to be the ssassination of all obnoxious officials and eading British patriots the minute the promised invasion began to prove successful.

No war came. And, as we have seen lready, Carleton's last year, 1796, was more eaceful than his first. But even then the xternal dangers made the governor-general's ost a very trying one, especially when internal roubles were equally rife. Thus Carleton ever enjoyed a single day without its anxious noments till, old and growing weary, though evoted as ever, he finally left Quebec on the th of July. This was the second occasion n which he had been forced to resign by

unfair treatment at the hands of those wh
should have been his best support. It wa
infinitely worse the first time, when he wa
stabbed in the back by that shameless politica
assassin, Lord George Germain. But th
second was also inexcusable because ther
could be no doubt whatever as to which o
the incompatibles should have left his post—
the replaceable Simcoe or the irreplaceabl
Carleton. Yet as H.M.S. *Active* rounde
Point Levy, and the great stronghold o
Quebec faded from his view, Carleton had a
least the satisfaction of knowing that he ha
been the principal saviour of one Britis
Canada and the principal founder of another

CHAPTER X

'NUNC DIMITTIS'

1796-1808

OUR tale is told.

The *Active* was wrecked on the island of Anticosti, where the estuary of the St Lawrence joins the Gulf. No lives were lost, and the Carletons reached Percé in Gaspé quite safely in a little coasting vessel. Then a ship came round from Halifax and sailed the family over to England at the end of September, just thirty years after Carleton had come out to Canada to take up a burden of oversea governance such as no other viceroy, in any part of the world-encircling British Empire, has ever borne so long.

He lived to become a wonderful link with the past. When he died at home in England he was in the sixty-seventh year of his connection with the Army and in the eighty-fifth

of his age. More than any other man of note he brought the days of Marlborough into touch with those of Wellington, though a century lay between. At the time he received his first commission most of the senior officers were old Marlburians. At the time of his death Nelson had already won Trafalgar, Napoleon had already been emperor of the French for nearly three years, and Wellington had already begun the great Peninsular campaigns. Carleton's own life thus constitutes a most remarkable link between two very different eras of Imperial history. But he and his wife together constitute a still more remarkable link between two eras of Canadian history which are still farther apart. At first sight it seems almost impossible that he, who was the trusted friend of Wolfe, and she, who learned deportment at Versailles in the reign of Louis Quinze, should together make up a living link between 1690, when Frontenac saved Quebec from the American Colonials under Phips, and 1867, when the new Dominion was proclaimed there. But it is true. Carleton, born in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, knew several old men who had served at the Battle of the Boyne, which was fought three months before

rontenac sent his defiance to Phips 'from
ne mouth of my cannon.' Carleton's wife,
ving far on into the second quarter of the
ineteenth century, knew several rising young
en who saw the Dominion of Canada well
arted on its great career.

All Carleton's sons went into the Army and
l died on active service. The fourth was
lled in 1814 at Bergen-op-Zoom carrying the
me sword that Carleton himself had used
ere sixty-seven years before. A picture of
e first siege of Bergen-op-Zoom hangs in the
ning-room of the family seat at Greywell
ill to remind successive generations of their
artial ancestors. But no Carleton needs
be reminded of a man's first duty at the
ll to arms. The present holder of the
orchester estates and title is a woman. But
r son and heir went straight to the front
th the cavalry of the first British army
rps to take the field in Belgium during the
eat World War of 1914.

Carleton spent most of his last twelve years
Kempshot near Basingstoke because he
pt his stud there and horses were his chief
ight. But he died at Stubbings, his place
ar Maidenhead beside the silver Thames,
the 10th of November 1808.

Thus, after an unadventurous youth an early manhood, he spent his long maturit steering the ship of state through troublou seas abroad ; then passed life's evening in th quiet haven of his home.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

HE Seigneurs and the Loyalists, both closely sociated with Carleton's Canadian career, are eated in two volumes of the present Series: *The igneurs of Old Canada* and *The United Empire yalists*. Two other volumes also provide pro- able reading: *The War Chief of the Six Nations: Chronicle of Brant*, the Indian leader who was Carleton's day what Tecumseh was to Brock's, d *The War Chief of the Ottawas: A Chronicle of e Pontiac War*.

Only one life of Carleton has been written, *Lord rchester*, by A. G. Bradley (1907). The student ould also consult *John Graves Simcoe*, by uncan Campbell Scott (1905), *Sir Frederick ldimand*, by Jean M'Ilwraith (1904), and *A History Canada from 1763 to 1812* by Sir Charles Lucas. rleton is the leading character in the first half the third volume of *Canada and its Provinces*, nich, being the work of different authors, throws ht on his character from several different British ints of view as well as from several different nds of evidence. Kingsford's *History of Canada*, lumes iv to vii, treats the period in considerable tail. Justin Smith's two volumes, *Our Struggle*

for the Fourteenth Colony, is the work of a mos painstaking American scholar who had alread produced an excellent account of *Arnold's Marc from Cambridge to Quebec*, in which, for the firs time, *Arnold's Journal* was printed word for word *Arnold's Expedition to Quebec*, by J. Codman, i another careful work. These are the complement of the British books mentioned above, as they em phasize the American point of view and dra more from American than from British sources o original information. The unfortunate defect o *Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony* is tha the author's efforts to be sprightly at all cost tend to repel the serious student, while his ver thoroughness itself repels the merely casua reader.

So many absurd or perverting mistakes ar still made about the life and times of Carleton and a full understanding of his career is of suc vital importance to Canadian history, that n accounts given in the general run of book —including many so-called 'standard works'— should be accepted without reference to th original authorities. Justin Smith's books, cite above, have useful lists of authorities; thoug there is no discrimination between documents o very different value. The original British diarie kept during Montgomery and Arnold's beleaguer ment have been published by the Literary and His torical Society of Quebec in two volumes, at th end of which there is a very useful bibliograph

showing the whereabouts of the actual manuscripts of these and many other documents in English, French, and German. In addition to the American and British diarists who wrote in English there were several prominent French Canadians and German officers who kept most interesting journals which are still extant. The Dominion Archives at Ottawa possess an immense mass of originals, facsimiles, and verbatim copies of every kind, including maps and illustrations. The Dominion Archivist, Dr Doughty, has himself edited, in collaboration with Professor Shortt, all the *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada from 1759 to 1791.*

The present Chronicle is based on the original evidence of both sides.

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